

This Is Nixon

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by JAMES KEOGH



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To V and the two K's. They endured the author at work.

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J. K.

PREFACE

EARLY in the year 1956 a young American stood at the threshold of the most important office in the world. At forty-three, Richard Nixon was, perhaps, the most controversial figure on the United States political scene. He had appeared on the skyline suddenly, and amid the shot and shell fired at him there had been some mud. His own guns were seldom quiet. For the people of the United States and, indeed, for friend and foe overseas, it was important to know where this remarkable young man had come from, how he got where he was, what he had learned, what he believed, where he stood—and what he had said. That is why this book was written.

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This Is Nixon

The Roots and the Route

I.

A VICE PRESIDENT INDEED

"Dick, you take over."

ON Election Day, 1952, two young men were tossing a football around on the Pacific sand at Laguna Beach, California. A United States Marine who happened to be strolling down the beach joined in the game. When the marine and one of the original ballplayers dashed after a fumble and almost collided, the marine stared at the dark-haired man with the football, blinked and blurted: "Gee, you're some kind of celebrity!" "No, I'm not a celebrity," said Richard Milhous Nixon. "I'm running for Vice President."

With that remark, Richard Nixon seemed ready to take his place beside the other Vice Presidents of the United States who had deprecated the office they held. John Adams, the first man to accept the honor, called it "the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination conceived." John C. Calhoun was so disgusted with the job that he resigned; Theodore Roosevelt referred to his election to the post as "taking the veil." To Thomas Marshall the condition of the Vice President was like that of a man in "a cataleptic fit: he is conscious of all that goes on, but has no part in it." In his

own way, Harry Truman protested the suggestion that he run for Vice President in 1944 by telling Democratic kingmakers in Chicago that all the Vice Presidents in history "were about as useful as a cow's fifth teat."

At first it was assumed that Richard Nixon would follow the tattered pattern and would not be particularly useful. In the weeks after the election of 1952, when key men of the new Administration team were being recruited from the President-elect's headquarters at the Commodore Hotel in New York City, the Vice President-elect was virtually ignored. The team builders had supposed that he was going to be just another Vice President. Then Dwight Eisenhower sent around the word that he meant what he said during the campaign about making the Vice Presidency an important job. His order: Include Dick Nixon in everything.

From that time on, Nixon was included in—more than any Vice President in United States history. The fact was not apparent at first, chiefly because Nixon adopted the philosophy that a new Vice President should be seen only when necessary and heard hardly at all. But before the end of the new Administration's first year, Washington began to sense that a new kind of Vice President was at work. His word and deed began to show in the most important aspects of the Federal Government's operations. *Time* set its correspondents on his several trails, and concluded that he had become "a bridge builder." "He builds bridges," said the weekly news magazine, "from the White House to Congress, to Government departments, to the officials and people of other lands, to the press and to the U. S. public."

By the time Richard Nixon began his fourth year as Vice President of the United States, almost every knowing observer in the nation's capital granted that he had made far more of the job than any of his thirty-five predecessors. In fact, some of his

critics thought that he was overambitious, and had made entirely too much of his position. Under Eisenhower and Nixon, the whole concept of the Vice Presidency had changed. "I personally believe the Vice President of the United States should never be a nonentity," said President Eisenhower. "I believe he should be used. I believe he should have a very useful job. I believe that ours has."

Picking up that ball, Nixon became one of the most useful, busiest, most influential men in the Federal Government. As a direct representative of the executive occupying a top position in the legislative branch, he was in a unique position to become the best-informed man in Washington. He was not one to pass up such an opportunity; he came to know more than any other man about what was going on at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue. He became the President's trouble shooter, elucidator and ambassador. As the key liaison man between Capitol Hill and the White House, he was highly effective in advancing the Administration's position on big issues, such as defense spending and foreign aid. Many important legislative proposals from the White House bore his imprint. Since he was one of the most skilled politicians on the Eisenhower team, his counsel was eagerly sought and carefully followed on matters political. When a major speech was needed to set forth an Administration position, from foreign policy to the farm problem, Nixon often was called on. He traveled around the world as the President's personal representative, spreading good will and gathering information. On the day he returned from a Caribbean trip in 1955, President Eisenhower told a White House Correspondents' Association dinner: "It is good to have Vice President Nixon back. You know, politics is something like a battle and the commanding officer might fall in that battle. It is reassuring to have a man who is capable of stepping into his place."

Following the military staff pattern, General Eisenhower,

from the start, prepared his second-in-command to be ready to take over. This policy contrasted sharply with that of previous Presidents. Harry Truman was appallingly uninformed when Franklin Roosevelt's death thrust him into the President's office. He did not even know that the United States was building an atomic bomb, which was then almost ready to use. Eisenhower kept his Vice President fully informed on all aspects of the Administration's policies and actions, brought him into meetings of both the Cabinet and the National Security Council. If the President was called away in mid-meeting by some matter that needed urgent attention in his office, he would wave to the Vice President and say: "Dick, you take over."

Since he was surrounded by older heads, this situation was a real test for the second youngest Vice President in United States history. (The youngest was John Cabell Breckinridge, who was only thirty-six when he was inaugurated with James Buchanan in 1857.) The first time Nixon took over as chairman of a full National Security Council meeting some Council aides wondered among themselves "how junior will do." Both the aides and the members of the council soon forgot the "junior"; before long it seemed quite natural to have the young Vice President presiding at meetings of both the Cabinet and the Security Council when the President was absent. He was the first Vice President who had ever been given such authority. During the President's illness in 1955, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles rose at the end of one Cabinet meeting and told his colleagues: "I must say that a real vote of thanks is due the Vice President for the way in which he has conducted this meeting." Then, turning to Nixon, Dulles added: "We are very grateful to you."

President Eisenhower, who has often expressed pride in the group of administrators he recruited to take key jobs in the

Federal Government, has repeatedly singled out Vice President Nixon for particular praise. At his news conference on October 25, 1955, the President took pains to mention his "admiration, respect and deep affection" for the Vice President. "Never has there been a Vice President so well versed in the activities of government," he said. "He has attended every important meeting. He has gone to numerous nations, has been widely and favorably accepted in those nations." The President's over-all evaluation of his Vice President: "The most valuable member of my team."

The young man who thus made so much of a job that John Adams considered "the most insignificant office" had been in politics only six short years before he became Vice President. What were the qualities, the circumstances, the events that enabled him to come so far so fast? What had he said and done on the way? What philosophy would he take into the world's most important office if he stepped over the threshold? His roots and route go back to the time when John Breckinridge was Vice President, and beyond.

II.

THE EARLY YEARS

"It wasn't easy."

IN the troubled years before the Civil War, many Southern members of the Society of Friends moved north. Their Quaker philosophy would not permit them to accept a way of life in which one race of mankind was not free. Among the Quakers who turned their backs on slavery were the members of the Milhous family, of Irish-English stock, who settled near the village of Butlerville in the hills of southeast Indiana. The head of the house was Franklin Milhous, an orchardist. In the family were his wife, Almira, and their nine children (two boys and seven girls), and Franklin's mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Milhous, who had followed her Quaker missionary mother into the ministry. Like many of his Quaker brethren of that era, Franklin Milhous was a pioneer at heart. In 1897 he loaded lumber, doors and windows, cows and horses, on a freight car and moved his family to a new town near Los Angeles, which had been founded by and for Quakers, and had been named for the Quaker poet, John Greenleaf Whittier. There, amid the rich traditions and the firm principles of the Society of Friends, the family of Franklin Milhous, including his daughter, Hannah, grew up.

Growing up in Ohio at the same time was a boy named Francis Anthony Nixon, born of a Scotch-Irish, Methodist farm family, near McArthur, Ohio. When Frank was only thirteen there occurred one of those incidents that have a deep effect on the life of a boy and man, and sometimes can affect the course of history. It happened when William McKinley was running for Governor of Ohio. The Nixons were Democrats, but Frank got involved in McArthur's ambitious plans to welcome Republican McKinley on his campaign tour. "They had a big parade for him with flags and streamers and all," Frank Nixon has recalled. "Well, I had a fine filly, the prettiest horse in town, and because of her the committee asked me to ride in the parade directly behind William McKinley's carriage. When we got up to the stand he hopped out and came around and spoke to me and ran his hand on her neck and said, 'I never *did* see such a fine, pretty horse.' He wanted to know if I was a Republican and if I'd always vote Republican, and I said I would." From then on Frank Nixon had a growing interest in politics, and he kept faith with William McKinley, although his Republicanism was unorthodox. His political heroes were Theodore Roosevelt and Robert LaFollette, Sr.; his family always has suspected that he quietly left the fold in the dark days of 1932 to vote for that other Roosevelt.

Because his family's financial resources were severely limited, Frank Nixon went to work after only six years of formal education. He labored at many trades, finally became a street-car conductor. After his feet were frostbitten one winter as he stood on the snow and ice in the open vestibules of street cars, he organized the trolley workers to work for a state law to close the vestibules. The law was passed, but by that time Frank Nixon had found that cold weather always made his feet hurt. He left Ohio and went to warm Southern California. At a Quaker meeting party in Whittier one night he met Hannah

Milhous. They walked home together that night; two years later they were married. They had five children, all boys. The second son, born at the village of Yorba Linda, near Whittier, on January 9, 1913, was named Richard.

Life in the home of Frank and Hannah Nixon was good, but it was never soft. Frank labored in the oil fields, became foreman of a citrus ranch, bought some land and planted a lemon grove. When the bottom fell out of the lemon market, he sold the grove and established a gasoline station with living quarters behind it three miles outside of Whittier. When the station began to do well, the Nixons expanded into the retail grocery business. Frank bought an old Quaker meetinghouse that was being replaced by a new and bigger one, moved it across the road next to his station and remodeled it to serve as "Nixon's Market."

There, outside Whittier, selling gasoline and groceries, Frank and Hannah Nixon brought up their boys. It took some doing. Hannah often worked eighteen hours a day, taking care of store and sons, culling out the bruised fruit at night to bake into pies for sale the next day. As soon as they were old enough to tell an apple from an orange, the boys helped. Their life was made up of work in the store, lessons at school, church three times on Sunday and once on Wednesday evening. There was not much time for frivolity, or for hobbies. Hannah Nixon guided the household along a steady course set by Quaker principles, always teaching the virtues of patience, tolerance, forbearance, conscientiousness and honesty. Frank Nixon became a Quaker, and Hannah went along with him in politics—most of the time. In 1916 she was heart and soul for Woodrow Wilson. She has since recalled that "when I told Mr. Nixon he just went pale and white." Through the years Hannah's son Richard has consistently quoted and treated Woodrow Wilson

with an approach that is akin to reverence—a tone that he does not use toward many highly placed Democratic politicians.

While Richard Nixon was absorbing his early principles of religion and politics from his mother and father, he was also profoundly affected by the counsel of his grandmother, Almira Milhous. Always busy with good works and acutely interested in world affairs, Grandmother Milhous looked upon Abraham Lincoln as the greatest of statesmen. She gave grandson Richard several books about Lincoln, and a framed portrait of him on which she wrote:

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time. . . .

Richard hung the inscribed portrait on the wall above his bed. His deep regard for his grandmother, and a revealing glimpse at the character of the young Nixon, came through in a letter he wrote to her at Christmas, 1936, when he was a twenty-three-year-old senior in law school:

DEAR GRANDMOTHER:

At this Christmas season I should like to be sending you a gift which would really express my love for you—but it will probably be several years before I reach such a high financial level—if ever.

So instead of sending you a card which would not express the feeling I wish to convey, I'm writing you this little Christmas note.

You will never know how much I've appreciated your remembrances at Christmas, at Easter, on my birthdays—and on days which have no special significance at all. More than them, however, I believe that I appreciate the fact that I have been a member of a family with such an illustrious person at its head. Sometimes in our spare moments, some of us indulge in reminiscing sessions here at school—and the boys are amazed at the remarkable person I describe as my Quaker grandmother. I myself share this respect.

So, here is wishing for you a Merry Christmas and many more Happy New Years.

Your loving Grandson,
RICHARD MILHOUS NIXON

All of the influences that surrounded Richard Nixon's life as a boy and a youth, combined with a bright mind and a sober personality, made him a conscientious, ambitious, intense, tenacious boy. He did not like to practice on the piano, but he practiced until he was a good pianist, could play Brahms and Bach. At school he found science and mathematics difficult, so he worked on them until he got excellent marks. He was essentially shy, and did not like to stand up and speak in school, but he became an accomplished extemporaneous speaker and debater. He now has his own philosophy to apply in such cases: "The best test of a man is not how well he does the things he likes but how well he does the things he doesn't like. The thing that destroys a person is to be constantly looking for something else—thinking how much happier you'd be in another job."

His debut as a debater, and an important debut it was, came in the seventh grade on a boys' team upholding, against the girls, the affirmative of "Resolved, that insects are more beneficial than harmful." With characteristic thoroughness he went to an uncle who was an entomologist and gathered a formidable collection of facts about insects. His team won. From there he went on to win a drawerful of medals for public speaking and debating. Anyone who has seen and heard him make a public speech with only a sheaf of notes, or no notes at all, recognizes what that training did for him. Some of his friends, as well as some of his foes, think that his ability to think on his feet and to make a good speech without a text is the master key to his drawerful of political success.

In pupil Nixon's early speeches there began to appear some of the philosophy of government which he was still expounding

years later as a United States Representative, Senator and Vice President. As a junior at Whittier Union High School, in 1929, he won local and district oratorical contests with a speech on "Our Privileges Under the Constitution." The text of his oration, printed in the *Cardinal and White*, the school's yearbook, reveals that some of his basic principles of government had taken root. Said orator Nixon: "During the struggle for freedom, our forefathers were in constant danger of punishment for exercising the rights of freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Again the cause of their danger was the intolerance of men in power toward others with different views. The framers of the Constitution provided that we, their descendants, need not fear to express our sentiments as they did. Yet the question arises: How much ground do these privileges cover? There are some who use them as a cloak for covering libelous, indecent, and injurious statements against their fellow men. Should the morals of this nation be offended and polluted in the name of freedom of speech or freedom of the press? In the words of Lincoln, the individual can have no rights against the best interests of society. Furthermore, there are those who, under the pretense of freedom of speech and freedom of the press, have incited riots, assailed our patriotism, and denounced the Constitution itself. They have used Constitutional privileges to protect the very act by which they wished to destroy the Constitution. Consequently laws have justly been provided for punishing those who abuse their Constitutional privileges—laws which do not limit these privileges, but which provide that they may not be instrumental in destroying the Constitution which insures them. We must obey these laws, for they have been passed for our own welfare."

In that speech young Nixon had a paragraph that has particular application to the enthusiasm with which, twenty-four

years later, he went at the job of Vice President. "In times past the right to hold office was given only to those of the nobility," he said. "We, however, have our Lincolns and our Jacksons—men who needed only a chance to prove their worth, that they might rise to the highest office in the land. Truly it is a great privilege to hold office, but it is also a great responsibility. The officeholder is elected by his fellow men, who expect him to represent them wisely and justly. It is his duty to give his services willingly, no matter how insignificant the position; to perform his work to the best of his ability; and to defend, maintain and uphold the Constitution."

A year later, in another prize-winning oration, "America's Progress—It's Dependence Upon the Constitution," preserved in the pages of the *Cardinal and White* for 1930, high school senior Nixon touched upon a point which was soon to become one of the most debated public issues in the United States. "Fellow citizens, we have seen that without question the Constitution has been the underlying force in America's progress," he said. "We know that our forefathers have championed this document to the extent of giving their lives—that we might enjoy its benefits. Yet in view of these facts, at the present time, a great wave of indifference to the Constitution's authority, disrespect of its law, and opposition to its basic principles threatens its very foundations. Shall we of the present generation allow this instrument to be cast into disrepute? Shall we be responsible for its downfall? If this nation wishes its progress to continue, this wave of indifference to the laws of the Constitution must cease. For as long as the Constitution is respected, its laws obeyed and its principles enforced, America will continue to progress, but if the time should ever come when America will consider this document too obsolete to cope with changed ideals of government, then the time will have arrived when the American people as an undivided nation must come

back to normal and change their ideals to conform with those mighty principles set forth in our incomparable Constitution."

Throughout those high school years, Richard Nixon was a dogged, serious, high-mark student. Also popular, he was elected general manager of the student body. His mother hoped that he would grow up to be a Quaker minister, but he made up his mind early about what he wanted to be. He told her: "I think I can be of more service to people by being a good lawyer."

Richard Nixon's early and natural bent toward the serious side of life was accentuated by family problems and tragedies. One of his brothers died suddenly of meningitis, at the age of seven, when Dick was twelve. His older brother, Harold, was stricken by tuberculosis at eighteen. Fighting the disease, Mother Nixon took her sick son to Prescott, Arizona, which was believed to have a more favorable climate. She rented a house and took in other young tuberculosis patients to help pay expenses. While his mother and brother were there, Richard spent one summer at Prescott, working as a barker for a wheel of fortune at the Frontier Days Rodeo. During most of the many months that Mrs. Nixon was away with Harold, Frank Nixon and his other boys carried on alone at Whittier, a circumstance which naturally placed heavy responsibilities on Richard, the oldest of the remaining boys. Harold died, after a five-year battle with the disease, when Dick was eighteen.

All of this, accompanied by the Great Depression, placed great emotional and financial strains on the Nixon family. Looking back at those times and events, Richard Nixon's brother Donald has described the Vice President's childhood concisely: "It wasn't easy."

III.

LAW AND WAR

"I sensed then the magnetism, the warmth, the greatness."

WHEN his son Richard enrolled at Whittier College, Frank Nixon turned over to him the fresh fruit and vegetable department of Nixon's Market, and told him that he could have whatever profit he made on its operation. Dick was often up at 4 A.M. to get to the produce markets and do his buying, then on to the store to arrange his counters, have breakfast, finish his studies and hurry to an early class. "I never pass a fruit market," he has said, "without thinking of the man who had to pick out the bad fruit and polish up the good and make the displays."

A serious and somewhat shy collegian, Nixon did not participate in many college high jinks or in many social events. He was too busy. He went out for football, but was considerably less than a star. "I never made the team," he has recalled, "but I got a good seat on the fifty-yard line. I was not heavy enough to play the line, not fast enough to play halfback, and not smart enough to be a quarterback." The man who was Whittier's football coach in those years, Wallace "Chief" New-

man, remembers tackle Dick Nixon in a different way. In 1952, after Nixon was nominated for Vice President, Coach Newman looked back across the years and remembered: "Dick Nixon was a second-string man. He played tackle and he played it well, but the kid was just too light. Weeks would go by and he wouldn't ever play a minute, but he'd hardly miss practice, and he worked hard. He was wonderful for morale, because he'd sit there and cheer the rest of the guys, and tell them how well they'd played. To sit on the bench for the better part of four seasons isn't easy. I always figure, especially in the case of Dick, who excelled in everything else, that kids like that have more guts than the first-string heroes. Dick, he would work even if he knew he wouldn't play. He'll be okay as Vice President."

Collegian Nixon was no second stringer as a student or as a campus leader. He majored in history, always ranked near the top of his class. Fascinated by the French Revolution, he read Voltaire, Rousseau and its other political philosophers, mostly in the original French. He became deeply interested in social philosophy, read the entire works of Tolstoy, and Robert LaFollette's autobiography. His classmates elected him president of the class as a freshman and the whole school elected him president of the student body when he was a senior.

A search for educators who influenced Nixon the student leads immediately and directly to Dr. Paul Smith, head of the History Department at Whittier when Nixon was a student there, and later president of the college. Like the Nixon forebears, Dr. Smith was an Indiana Quaker. A graduate of a Quaker college, he taught at the University of Wisconsin, where he came to admire the LaFollettes' brand of progressivism, before he went to Whittier. He was a constant and careful student of the lives of great political leaders and the workings of the American political system. One of his specialties was

analyzing the practical methods of United States politics—in precinct, ward, city, district, state and nation. He leaned toward what Richard Nixon calls “the great-man theory”; i.e., that history is made more by the character of the leaders than it is by the force of circumstances.

The scholarly Dr. Smith remembered Richard Nixon with great warmth and respect, as one of those students who naturally stand out in a teacher’s memory. “His complete confidence, his seriousness and his good mind made him, I’d say, one of the finest students I’ve ever taught,” said Dr. Smith. He recalled that Nixon was a deadly earnest student with a great facility for simple, clear, direct expression. In tests in which other students would write two pages, Dr. Smith recalled, Nixon would write half a page. “At first,” said Dr. Smith, “you thought that he couldn’t answer the question in that short space. But he would go to the heart of the problem and put it down simply.” From Dr. Smith, Dick got *A*’s in courses in “The American Constitution,” and in “International Law and Relations,” *B*’s in “History of the American People” and “History of the English People.”

Musing about what has made Richard Nixon the kind of man he is, Dr. Smith said: “Example is the greatest potential in the life of a person. In our course in ‘Representative Americans,’ Dick could not help being influenced by the effective investigation of Lincoln, Madison and others who built America’s greatness. We do feel he does know the background of our country. He has a sound historical understanding of the American people.” After Nixon was nominated in 1952, Dr. Smith uttered what might now be considered a prophetic statement. If elected, he said, Nixon “will make more out of that job than anyone ever has before. If this country is ever to return to constitutional principles of government, that would imply a

restoration of the Vice Presidency to what it should be—and Dick's just the boy to do that."

Dick Nixon graduated from Whittier College in 1934 with the second highest average in his class, a wealth of experience in fresh fruit and vegetable marketing and a scholarship to the Duke University Law School. In many respects, his years at Duke were a repetition of his career at Whittier. He was a constantly working student, whose serious and earnest manner earned him the nickname "Gloomy Gus." To save money, Dick and two other scholarship students rented an old house in the woods a mile and a half from the campus, for five dollars a month apiece, calling it Whippoorwill Manor. It had no electricity and no heat, except an old laundry stove, so they did most of their after-dark studying at the college library. As a senior, Dick was elected president of the Duke Bar Association, the most important student organization. He graduated with honors (third in the class, Order of the Coif) in 1937. Back in Whittier, he joined the law firm of Kroop and Bewley. Within a year it became Kroop, Bewley and Nixon.

Tom Bewley planned to groom the new man in the firm as a trial lawyer. "One of the first times he saw action," Bewley recalled, "I took him along to court with me. I was going to show him how to handle a drunk case. I opened the arguments, and then, just for fun I thought I'd trick him. I said, 'Okay, Dick, you sum up.' Dick got up on his feet, went over and spoke directly to the jury, and we won the case. Later one of the jury came up and said: 'If it hadn't been for Nixon you would have lost the case.' That's the thing: Dick just immediately took hold. He had perfect timing. He was thorough. He bore right into the heart of a question. And he had courtroom psychology. He could talk so that butter wouldn't melt in his mouth, or he could take hold of a cantankerous witness and shake him like a dog."

Looking back on those days, Bewley recalled that "I never once remember Dick relaxing. We went to a few football games, but he got so excited that you couldn't call it relaxing. We weren't formal, mind you, but Dick was always serious, always in earnest. And in all that time, I never once went to lunch with Dick just for fun. He was always making a speech or talking with a client. He'd work nights and early in the morning. You know, there may be a secret to this guy's success: he never wastes a moment."

Before long Nixon was Assistant City Attorney (a part-time assignment), a trustee of Whittier College, president of the college alumni association, a member of the Junior Chamber of Commerce and an actor in a Little Theater group. As the leading man in a mystery play, *The Dark Tower*, he wooed and won the leading lady, Thelma Patricia (Pat) Ryan. She was the pretty, red-haired teacher of business law, typing and book-keeping at Whittier High School. Born at Ely, Nevada, Pat Ryan had been brought to California at the age of one, when her father turned from mining to vegetable farming. After both her parents died, she managed to finish high school, then worked in a bank, went east and worked in a hospital laboratory near New York City to earn enough money to go to the University of Southern California. Working part time in a department store, and correcting papers for faculty members, she paid her way through the university, graduated in 1937. She had passed Hollywood screen tests, and had walk-on parts in two movies. Dick Nixon and Pat Ryan met at the first rehearsal of *The Dark Tower*, and never stopped meeting. They were married in 1940.

A month before Pearl Harbor, Nixon accepted a job with the Office of Emergency Management, the forerunner of OPA, which had sent out an urgent call for lawyers to work on rationing regulations. He and Pat went to Washington in Janu-

ary, 1942, but by March he was seeking a more active part in the war. He applied for and got a commission as a Navy lieutenant, j.g., and put in for sea duty. Called to active duty in August, 1942, he was sent, not to sea, but to a desk in Ottumwa, Iowa, where he was aide to the executive officer setting up a Naval air base. This was hardly a glamorous assignment, but Californian (and politician) Nixon never regretted it. His stay in Ottumwa gave him an opportunity to know the Middle West first hand, just as his years at Duke had taught him what life was like in the South.

After six months in Iowa, Nixon again applied for sea duty, and got it. He was sent to the Pacific as an operations officer with the South Pacific Combat Air Transport Command, which had the difficult and dangerous job of flying supplies into the combat zones. He served for fourteen months in the South Pacific, touched on half a dozen islands, including Guadalcanal and Bougainville, served as officer in charge of the SCAT stations on Vella Lavella, Bougainville and Green Island. At one time, on Bougainville, his unit was under bombardment for twenty-eight of thirty nights. "We got used to it," he said. "The only things that really bothered me were lack of sleep and the centipedes." Nixon's Quaker training had been strongly pacifistic, but like many other Quakers he did not consider active military service in World War II as violating his principles. "Many of us realized that if we were to have peace in the world we must fight for it, and so we did," he said.

From the Pacific, Nixon was sent back to the United States and was assigned to work for the Navy in Philadelphia, New York City and Baltimore as a lawyer-in-uniform, terminating contracts. It was while Lieutenant Commander Nixon was working in the Navy office building at 50 Church Street in New York City in 1945 that he got his first glimpse of Dwight Eisenhower. The hero home from the wars was being acclaimed in

one of the greatest ticker-tape parades Manhattan ever experienced. During the 1952 campaign, Nixon recalled the scene: "I remember looking out a window about thirty stories up as the parade with General Eisenhower went by on the street below. The streets were crowded with people. There was tremendous enthusiasm. And my only glimpse of him was in that characteristic gesture of his—you know, where he had his hands up, and I could see that he was smiling—and I sensed then the magnetism, the warmth, the greatness, that not only makes a wonderful candidate, but is going to make him a great President of the United States."

As he went back to his desk, Lieutenant Commander Nixon could not have dreamed that in only a few years he would be Dwight Eisenhower's good right hand. Just a few weeks later he received a telegram that started him on the way.

IV.

ON THE WAY

"Richard Nixon made the Hiss case possible."

THE telegram came, on a September day, in 1945, from "Uncle" Herman Perry, a big man around Whittier. He was vice president of the Whittier branch of the Bank of America, and he had known the Nixon family for a long time. "Dick's Grandfather Milhous and I were Quakers together," Perry recalled. "We served on the Whittier College Board of Trustees. I financed Dick's father in his early days." In 1945, Herman Perry was a member of a Republican fact-finding committee in what was then California's Twelfth Congressional District, seeking a candidate for Congress to run against Democrat Jerry Voorhis. Then serving his fifth term, Voorhis seemed unbeatable. The committee had put out a press release asking likely prospects to apply, but it had not found its man.

"When we got to thinking about that job in Washington, D.C.," said Herman Perry, "I said: 'We've got to select somebody who is really on fire.' I had observed Richard Nixon. In this new age I felt that Nixon was the one to do the job. He had the personal appeal, the legal qualifications. He'd been in Washington and around the world. In my mind he was a natu-

ral. I sent him a telegram and asked him if he would like to throw his name in the hopper and whether he was a Democrat or a Republican. I didn't know."

At nine o'clock one night Dick Nixon telephoned Perry from Baltimore. There was no doubt about his politics. He had registered as a Republican in 1940, had voted for Wendell Willkie. To certify his credentials, he told Perry: "I voted for Tom Dewey by absentee ballot from the South Pacific in 1944." That was enough. Said Perry: "You'll have to come to California and appear in two weeks before the committee."

Still in uniform, Lieutenant Commander Nixon flew to California, saw and was seen and heard by the committee. What he said in that first appearance as a politician, reported by the Whittier *News* of October 3, 1945, is interesting in fixing Richard Nixon's basic political position. He told the committee that he recognized two lines of thought abroad in the United States about what constituted the American system. "One advocated by the New Deal is government control in regulating our lives," he said. "The other calls for individual freedoms and all that initiative can produce. I hold with the latter viewpoint. I believe the returning veterans, and I have talked to many of them in the foxholes, will not be satisfied with a dole or a government handout. They want a respectable job in private industry, where they will be recognized for what they produce, or they want an opportunity to start their own business. If the choice of this committee comes to me I will be prepared to put on an aggressive and vigorous campaign on a platform of practical liberalism."

The committee went for Nixon all the way. Of 77 votes cast on its first ballot, 63 were for Nixon and the rest were scattered among three other candidates. The second ballot made it unanimous. Herman Perry was overjoyed. He was soon buttonholing Republicans around the Twelfth District with a line that

seemed considerably overenthusiastic—then. "If you boys ever want to sleep in the White House," he told them, "get on this Nixon bandwagon."

Dick and Pat Nixon were thirty-three and expecting their first child. When he was mustered out of the Navy in January, 1946, they went to California, invested half of their mutual wartime savings of ten thousand dollars in the down payment on a house and reserved the other half for living and campaigning expenses. Then they set out to run for Congress. Pat Nixon has described the way they established their campaign office: "We rented a little office in one of the oldest buildings in Whittier. Dick's mother contributed an old leather sofa that had been stored in the garage, and his brother Don hauled it to the office in his truck. We found a battered desk, and a friend lent us a typewriter. Another contributed a throw rug for the floor." As interest in Nixon and his campaign increased, however, more substantial contributions began to flow in. Pat worked in the campaign until the baby, Patricia, Jr. ("Tricia"), was born, and was back on the trail three weeks later while Grandfather and Grandmother Nixon cared for their new grandchild.

It was a rugged campaign. Its highlight was a series of five debates which drew crowds of five thousand and more. Some of Nixon's friends thought that he, a political amateur, was foolish to challenge a seasoned campaigner like Voorhis to public debate. Nixon took a quite different view. Confident of his platform ability, he reasoned that Voorhis could draw bigger crowds than he could and he wanted a chance to talk to people who came out to hear his opponent. Said he: "I think you've got to get before the people that are not for you. That's the way you make converts." Some of Nixon's associates believe that his success in the debates was his most important asset in the campaign.

Some opponents of Richard Nixon and friends of Jerry

Voorhis have charged, through the years, that Nixon used the subversion issue improperly in the campaign against Voorhis. Nixon considered and called himself a "liberal Republican," and as such he did not attack all aspects of the New Deal. But he did fire one broadside after another at the somewhat left-wing New Dealism which Voorhis, a one-time Socialist, represented. He and his supporters repeatedly called Voorhis the "P.A.C. candidate"; they passed out 25,000 plastic thimbles labeled *Elect Nixon and Needle the P.A.C.*

In 1946 the C.I.O. Political Action Committee was at its height. There was widespread controversy about Communist influence within it; some of its units were known to be Communist-dominated. It became a national issue in the Congressional elections, with Republicans generally using the P.A.C. tag against their Democratic opponents. Although Voorhis had strong C.I.O. support in the past, he argued that he did not actually have the P.A.C. indorsement in 1946, and therefore charged that it was unfair to pin that label on him. Whether the P.A.C. actually did indorse him became obscured in the argument. It is a matter of record that a Los Angeles committee of the National Citizens Political Action Committee, set up as a separate unit to make indorsements, recommended indorsement of Voorhis. Recognizing that this was political dynamite, Voorhis sent a telegram to the N.C.P.A.C. asking that it withdraw whatever indorsement was contemplated. Specific indorsements aside, there was no doubt that the C.I.O. was essentially for Voorhis and against Nixon in that 1946 race.

The public record of that campaign, as set down in the newspapers of the district, provides a clear view of the central theme in Nixon's campaign. In 1946, one of the great national issues was whether Federal controls established in wartime should be continued. Time and again newspapers carried a key quotation from Nixon's speeches: "There are those walking in high offi-

cial places in our country who would destroy our constitutional principles through socialization of American free institutions. These are the people who front for un-American elements, wittingly or otherwise, by advocating increasing Federal controls over the lives of the people. These are the people who would lead us into disastrous foreign policies whereby we would be guilty of collusion with other nations in depriving the people of smaller nations of the very freedoms guaranteed ourselves by our Constitution. Liberty is the very essence of our Constitution. Today the American people are faced with a choice between two philosophies of government; one of these, supported by the radical P.A.C. and its adherents, would deprive the people of liberty through regimentation. The other would return the government to the people under constitutional guarantee, and, needless to say, that is the philosophy for which I will fight with all my power in Congress. . . . This is not a campaign between two men, but it is one between two divergent fundamental political beliefs. If the people want bureaucratic control and domination, with every phase of human activity regulated from Washington, then they should not vote for me, but for my opponent. If on the other hand the people want a change so that a man can call his life his own once more, then my election to Congress will help to bring it about. The issues in this campaign are whether we will have a national administration that will promote a system of free enterprise and whether we will have a Congressman who will represent the views and principles of the people of this district."

Richard Nixon, the amateur, beat Jerry Voorhis, the five-term Congressman, by 15,592 votes. Voorhis called it "the bitterest campaign I ever experienced." But he wrote Nixon a letter offering to give the beginning Congressman "any help that you believe I can render." In his book, *Confessions of a Congressman*, Voorhis later reported: "A couple of weeks

passed and I began to wonder whether Mr. Nixon had received my letter. Then one day when I came back from lunch he was standing there in the outer office. He smiled and so did I. We shook hands and went into the inner office, which by that time was pretty bleak and bare. We talked for more than an hour and parted, I hope and believe, as personal friends. Mr. Nixon will be a Republican Congressman. He will, I imagine, be a conservative one. But I believe he will be a conscientious one. And I know I appreciated his coming to see me very sincerely indeed."

Typifying an eager new generation of Republicans, Congressman Richard Nixon went to Washington with fire in his eyes. He had been spared the bitterness of futile opposition during the long, lean years of the New Deal; he went to Capitol Hill looking forward. As a first-termer, he was assigned an office on "freshman row," on the fifth floor of the House Office Building. "In that attic," said California's Republican Representative Donald Jackson, who had the room next door, "you're about as far removed from what's going on as it's possible to get in Washington." With Nixon and Jackson taking the lead, some fifteen Republican freshmen in the House decided to get closer to what was going on. They formed the Chowder and Marching Club, an organization that had nothing to do with chowder and even less to do with marching. The members met every Wednesday in the office of one member or another, and exchanged all the information they had, particularly about what was going on in their committees. More often than not they spent part of each session ripping apart the Republican oldsters. They began to agree on courses of action, and to map their own strategy. When they were trying to push or stop a bill, they would divide up the field and move through the House buttonholing and persuading other Congressmen. They became a considerable force. Says one charter member: "Fifteen guys

can do a lot with members who know little about a given bill." Richard Nixon soon became a recognized and respected leader of the Chowder and Marching Club, which was still chowdering and marching in 1956, nine years after it was established.

During his first year in the House, Congressman Nixon got a highly prized assignment: he went to Europe as a member of a committee to investigate economic conditions there. The chairman of the committee was Republican Congressman Christian A. Herter, later Governor of Massachusetts. Nixon came back a firm supporter of foreign aid, wisely placed and properly administered, and from then on voted consistently in support of the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty Alliance and military aid to allies of the United States. As a member of the Labor Committee, he participated actively in the drafting of the Taft-Hartley Law, considered his personal position "somewhat more moderate" than the finished product.

But it was as a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities that he came to national prominence. When he was offered a place on the committee, he had quite a debate with himself. Should he take the assignment or shouldn't he? The committee was in low repute. It was under constant attack from "liberal" columnists, commentators and editorialists. Its chairman was Republican J. Parnell Thomas of New Jersey, later indicted and jailed for fraud. Nixon's Chowder and Marching associate Representative Jackson later recalled how Nixon came into his office and started pacing. "He felt the moral obligation to accept," Jackson said, "but he asked himself repeatedly, sometimes aloud, if the condemnation of the committee by the liberals was sound, if there were the injustices and the irresponsibilities complained of, if the committee could be brought to do a sound job." Nixon later explained his decision: "Politically, it could have been the kiss of death, but I figured it was an opportunity as well as a risk, so I took it."

Nixon made the most of the opportunity, and quickly became a key member of the Un-American Activities Committee. He presented its case against Communists Gerhard Eisler and Eugene Dennis, and was the chief author of the Mundt-Nixon Communist-control bill. His biggest opportunity came, however, after Whittaker Chambers testified that Alger Hiss was a Communist. Hiss came before the committee with a smooth and haughty denial of Chambers' story, even denying that he had ever known Chambers. After listening to the respected former official of the U. S. State Department deny the story of the admitted ex-Communist, most members of the committee were ready to drop the case and run. "Hiss," Nixon said, "was the most impressive, convincing witness I ever saw in my life." But gradually Nixon became suspicious: "I was a lawyer and so was Hiss; I began to get the feeling that here was a lawyer making a case, giving the appearance of candor and co-operation while not revealing all he knew." In closed session, he urged the committee to push on.

There were tremendous pressures to stop the investigation. Many editorialists and columnists were violently attacking Chambers and defending Hiss; there were hints that the U. S. Department of Justice might seek an indictment, not of Hiss, but of Chambers. President Truman called the investigation a "red herring" being dragged across the national scene by the Republicans in an effort to avert public attention from the failures of the G.O.P. Congress. Despite all this, the committee, following Nixon's lead, went doggedly ahead.

Investigator Nixon hit upon a way to get at the truth. He reasoned that if Chambers had known Hiss as well as he claimed he did, he would know details of Hiss's life. In closed session, Nixon drew from Chambers a mass of details about Hiss's life. Then Hiss was asked about the same details. Their two stories fit together with startling precision. Most astonish-

ing was the tale of the prothonotary warbler. Chambers remembered that Hiss was a bird watcher, and that Hiss had once told him of seeing the rare prothonotary warbler. Hiss was asked if he had ever seen one. He said that he had; and his description of the experience fitted neatly with Chambers' testimony. That was the turning point. From then on, most of the committee members were convinced that Hiss was lying, and Nixon became more persistent than ever. Chambers later recalled: "His somewhat martial Quakerism sometimes amused and always heartened me. I have a vivid picture of him, in the blackest hour of the Hiss case . . . saying in his quietly savage way (he is the kindest of men): 'If the American people understood the real character of Alger Hiss, they would boil him in oil.' "

Finally, Nixon's persistence paid off. Alger Hiss was exposed as a Communist spy, tried and convicted of perjury. In his book, *Witness*, Whittaker Chambers assigns an important place in history to Nixon's role in the Hiss case. The committee, he wrote, "was greatly strengthened by one man. Richard Nixon argued quietly but firmly against a switch from the Hiss investigation to any other subject. He plead the necessity of reaching truth in the Hiss-Chambers deadlock. By his action, then and later, he became the man of decision in the first phase of the Hiss case, as Thomas F. Murphy . . . was to be the man of decision of the second phase of the Hiss case. Richard Nixon made the Hiss case possible. Thomas F. Murphy [who was the special prosecutor at Hiss's trials for perjury] made it possible for the nation to win the case. Without either man, the case would, in my opinion, have been lost. Let any rational fellow who likes explain to the nation how, in that crisis, those two men, and just those two men, one a Quaker and one a Catholic, one a Republican and one a Democrat, each utterly unlike the other in mind and character, came to be where each, in indispensable succession, was needed."

V.

TO THE UPPER HOUSE

"The committee met and unanimously agreed on Nixon."

IN 1948, before the Hiss case had impressed itself on the national consciousness, Richard Nixon was re-elected to the House. He won his second term, some Democratic leaders may be astonished to recall, by winning both the Republican and Democratic primaries in his district. Under California's peculiar cross-filing law, most politicians run on both tickets. Nixon did just that, had a Democrats-for-Nixon organization which followed the customary pattern of sending out "Fellow Democrats" literature throughout the district. He ran away with the Republican primary; in the Democratic race he got more votes than both of his Democratic opponents combined.

In Washington in those years, Congressman Nixon was a favorite Republican with Democrats on Capitol Hill, and with Democratic-inclined members of the press corps. Even at the emotional peak of the Hiss case there was widespread talk about Nixon's fairness. Reporters liked him because he was frank and honest with them, and would give them all the back-

ground he could, asking only that they use good judgment in their stories. Characteristically, he worked hard, often staying up all night during the Hiss case. He had a good reputation back home for handling constituents' problems. All of this was noted by California Republicans as the 1950 election for United States Senator approached.

California Republicans also took note of the fact that their youthful Congressman was becoming popular as a speaker at G.O.P. rallies all over the country. In these speeches, Nixon was telling Republicans to look ahead instead of backward, to propose as well as oppose, to make their party more progressive and more constructive. This approach sounded exactly right to a group of young Republicans in California, who were looking for a candidate they could support for the Senate seat being relinquished by Democrat Sheridan Downey. They arranged a meeting with Nixon and asked him to run. It was not an easy decision for him. He had a perfectly safe seat in the House. The Senate race would be anything but easy, particularly since some older Republicans and a substantial number of voters might consider him too young for the job. Characteristically, he took time to weigh all the factors involved before he gave his answer.

Nixon decided to run. Announcing his candidacy, he started the campaign off at a temperature that never cooled. The issue, he said, "is simply the choice between freedom and state socialism. They can call it planned economy, the Fair Deal, or social welfare—but it is still the same old Socialist baloney, any way you slice it. Believe me, I am well aware of the Communist threat. I do not discount it. However, I am convinced that an even greater threat to our free institutions is presented by that group of hypocritical and cynical men who, under the guise of providing political panaceas for certain social and economic problems, are selling the American birthright for a mess of

political pottage. Slowly but surely they are chipping away the freedoms which are essential to the survival of a healthy, strong and productive nation."

Nixon's opponent was Democratic Congresswoman Helen Gahagan Douglas, wife of actor Melvin Douglas. It was a classic contest, between a down-the-line Fair Deal Democrat and one of the hardest hitters among the new breed of Republicans. Mrs. Douglas supported the Truman program; Nixon opposed it. She was for the Brannan Plan for agriculture, he was against it. He was for the Taft-Hartley Act, she was against it. The campaign soon attracted national attention. Important Democrats trooped into California to support Mrs. Douglas, and important Republicans contributed to the Nixon cause. Writing in *Newsweek*, Raymond Moley characterized the race as presenting "the essential domestic issue before the country—the issue of individual freedom as against increasing governmental intervention in economic life. On this issue Nixon is a moderate conservative; Douglas, a radical."

The crucial issue, however, was Communism, and what the United States should do about it, abroad and at home. Nixon charged that Democratic Administration policies in the Far East, based on the fatally erroneous assumption that the Chinese Communists were simply "agrarian reformers," had caused the loss of China to Communism. He argued that the loss of China, followed by other disastrous policies of the Democratic Administration, led to the war in Korea. Mrs. Douglas staunchly defended administration policy in Asia. On the issue of Communist subversion at home, the differences between them were total. Nixon had become the key member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities; Mrs. Douglas had voted to cut off its funds. Repeatedly, Nixon pointed out that Mrs. Douglas had voted 354 times with Vito Marcantonio, the pro-Communist Congressman from New

York; e.g., against United States aid to Communist-threatened Greece, Turkey and China. Retorted Mrs. Douglas: "Why, this is nothing but fascism on the march."

Richard Nixon beat Helen Gahagan Douglas by 680,947 votes. His total vote was more than two million. Since the total Republican registration in California at that time was 1.9 million, Nixon estimated that he got more than 750,000 Democratic votes. He had been opposed bitterly by California leaders of organized labor, but in Los Angeles County, which had a big organized-labor vote and an overwhelming Democratic registration, his margin was more than 300,000. Richard Nixon went back to Capitol Hill, and across to the Senate, a man marked for the future.

In the Senate, he worked as hard as he had in the House. The Nixons had practically no social life; they lived for his work. Through the years his voting record showed an increasing independence. The Congressional Quarterly tabulated his votes as following the general Republican line 91 per cent of the time his first term in the House, and 74 per cent of the time in his second term. In his two years in the Senate, C.Q. recorded him as voting the G.O.P. line 70 per cent of the time.

In his years on Capitol Hill, Nixon was voting and working for much the same kind of programs and policies that later became the heart of the Eisenhower program. He was generally rather conservative on domestic matters, and a strong internationalist in foreign policy. He had been classifying himself as a "moderate progressive" long before the labels to that effect crept into the campaign of 1952.

His experience in Congress, working with important and complex matters, left its mark on him. He once said that he had started with "ideas of black or white." "But I learned," he went on, "that it's hard to find any field where it's all black or white and that men aren't 'bad'—just sometimes wrong. And

that even if in your opinion they're wrong, you still have to acknowledge many indefinables and legitimate differences of opinion. People say you shouldn't compromise on matters of principle. But by 'principle' they usually mean what *they* believe in. I found that compromise is often what is right."

When Dwight Eisenhower, in 1952, got to the point of considering possible candidates for Vice President, he looked at the record, and put Richard Nixon at the top of his list. Then he turned his list over to a committee of his strategists, meeting under Herbert Brownell. Forty-eight hours before he was nominated, Richard Nixon had no official word about whether he was on that list. When his wife heard rumors that he might be the nominee for Vice President and asked him about them, he replied: "Those things don't just happen. I haven't been approached by anyone." By the day before he was nominated, he had been approached with some "strictly unofficial suggestions" that he was one of several being considered. He said he was willing. But he was not expectant.

Only a few hours before he was nominated, Nixon, with his California political manager, Murray Chotiner, went to the California delegation headquarters in the Stockyards Inn, near the convention hall, to get some rest. He noticed that he needed a shave but he was tired, so he took off his shirt and lay down to get some rest. The telephone rang. It was for Nixon. Shirtless and bewhiskered, he went to the telephone. He heard the voice of Herbert Brownell speaking, not to him, but to Dwight Eisenhower, on another line. "Hello, General," said Brownell. "I wanted to tell you that the committee met and unanimously agreed on Nixon."

Richard Nixon had a moment to catch his breath before Brownell came on his line and gave him the news directly. Could Nixon hurry right downtown? Ike wanted to see him right away. Nixon put on a shirt as fast as any man ever put

one on, and hurried out of the Inn. He had loaned his car to a California political reporter, since he had not expected to need it, so he had to borrow a car. On the way downtown he encountered a motorcycle policeman, explained who he was and where he was going, took the policeman on as an escort, and rushed to see Dwight Eisenhower. When he appeared on the platform before the cheering delegates and on the nation's television screens that night, as the nominee for Vice President of the United States, he still needed that shave.

Richard Nixon had come a long way since he received that telegram, not quite seven years before, from Herman Perry. Now he was on the national skyline, where the biggest political guns would be firing at him. And fire they did.

VI.

ON THE SKYLINE

*"It isn't easy to come before a nationwide audience
and bare your life as I've done."*

No candidate for Vice President of the United States was ever so much in the spotlight, or so much on the spot, as Richard Nixon was in 1952. In all our political history, few events have had the dramatic impact of the central incident in his campaign. It began quietly enough. After a *Meet the Press* television show in Washington, on a September Sunday afternoon, columnist Peter Edson, a veteran Washington correspondent, approached the program's guest of the day, Richard Nixon. There had been a story going around ever since the convention, Edson said, about a special fund set up by a group of wealthy Californians to give Nixon financial assistance. That wasn't quite the way it was, Nixon replied, but Edson could get all the facts if he called up Dana Smith, a lawyer in Pasadena. Edson called Smith, got his information, wrote a low-key story and sent it out to eight hundred clients. None of them appeared to be very excited about it. About the same time a number of militantly anti-Republican newspapers, notably the *New York Post*, seized the story on their own, and ran headlines about a

"millionaire's fund to keep Nixon in style." Stepping into what appeared to be one of the greatest political breaks in history, Democratic National Chairman Stephen Mitchell said that Nixon should withdraw as a candidate.

By the time the story boiled into headlines all across the United States, some of the political advisers in the Republican camp were painfully inclined to agree with Mitchell. The Republicans were campaigning against corruption, some of them argued, and could not permit even the slightest hint of it on their own ticket. Astonished at the furor, Nixon said the fund was no secret, and that it had been "collected and expended for legitimate political purposes." He announced that he had asked lawyer Smith, who was trustee of the fund, to make a full report to the public. Smith called in the press and told the story. The fund was established after Nixon was elected to the Senate in 1950, was closed when he was nominated for the Vice Presidency. Smith wrote the checks. "Some of the disbursements," he said, "came to me as direct bills for payment. And some came to me as statements of expense from Senator Nixon's office. The Senator never handled any of the money himself." Sometimes Nixon was personally reimbursed by check for expenses he had incurred—and accounted for.

In its two years of operation, the fund took in \$18,235, paid out all of that, except \$66.13, for political expenses. The major item was \$6,166.60 for stationery, printing and mimeographing, mostly for Nixon's newsletter to his constituents and for copies of his major speeches. Mailing lists and postage cost another \$2,390. For political travel, Senator Nixon had drawn \$3,430.78, mostly for trips between Washington and California for public appearances. There were expenditures totaling \$2,017.79 for radio and television time. All of the remaining \$4,163.70 was scrupulously itemized, except one item of \$294 for "miscellaneous"—and a \$2.25 error in bookkeep-

ing. There was no evidence whatever to support the charge that Nixon had used the money "to live in style." There was not a shred of evidence that he used a cent of it for personal expenses.

Dana Smith named 76 contributors to the fund and the amounts they had paid. The average contribution was around \$250; the biggest was \$1,000. The list of contributors was a Who's Who of Southern California businessmen, all admirers of Nixon, who had banded together when he was running for the Senate and had raised some \$25,000 for that campaign. There was no doubt in their minds about what the post-election fund was for. They wanted it used to keep Nixon in close and constant political touch with the voters of California, 3,000 miles from Washington, so that his position would be strong the next time an election came around. Explained Smith: "We wanted him to continue what we all looked on as a kind of California crusade for good government. This fund was set up to cover his extra expenses outside his office. Dick never got a nickel of it for his own personal use. And we were most careful to screen the contributors. We didn't want anybody contributing who might use the fact as a lever on Dick's voting."

Some members of Congress quickly came to Nixon's defense. California Congressman Oakley Hunter volunteered the information that his friends had set up an expense fund for him, and that he had drawn \$4,000 from it in about a year. Senator Robert A. Taft said there was "no reason why a Senator or Congressman should not accept gifts from constituents to help pay even personal expenses in Washington—and certainly those political and travel expenses which are not paid by the Government. The only possible criticism would arise if these donors asked for or received legislative or other favors. I know that no such motives inspired the expense payments in the case of Dick Nixon. Those who contributed to the fund

probably agreed one hundred per cent with his legislative position anyway."

These were reasonable explanations, but they did not quiet the cries from the opposition or the nerves in some parts of the Republican camp. Newspaper editorials began to run against Nixon, even in some staunchly pro-Eisenhower newspapers; e.g., the New York *Herald Tribune*. Finally, Nixon decided to take his case to the people, to tell the whole story of the fund on a national television network. He interrupted a campaign trip at Portland, Oregon, flew back to Los Angeles and began to think through what he would say and how he would say it. Three hours before he was to step before the cameras he sent his advisers away and ordered his telephone cut off. "I don't want to talk to anybody," he said. At that moment, Richard Nixon was a man on trial, and strictly on his own. At stake were the campaign chances of the Republican Party and his own political future. Just before the telecast was to begin he sat down behind a desk in a National Broadcasting Company television studio in Hollywood, a sheaf of notes in his hand. He had no script; he had prepared the speech as he prepares nearly all of his talks. He had made a series of outlines, on sheets of yellow, lined paper, filling out each one a little more than the previous one, and using the last one for his presentation. When he sat down in the NBC studio that night not even his wife, who sat in an armchair a few feet away, knew what he was going to say. "Will you get up or remain seated?" a technician asked. "I don't know," Nixon replied. The cameraman warmed up two extra cameras just in case.

"My fellow Americans," Nixon began, in his earnest voice. "I come before you tonight as a candidate for the Vice Presidency and as a man whose honesty and integrity have been questioned. . . . I am sure that you have read the charge and you have heard it, that I, Senator Nixon, took \$18,000 from a

group of my supporters. Now, was that wrong? And let me say that it . . . was morally wrong if any of that \$18,000 went to Senator Nixon for my personal use; I say that it was morally wrong if it was secretly given and secretly handled; and I say that it was morally wrong if any of the contributors got special favors for the contributions that they made.

"And now to answer those questions let me say this: Not one cent of the \$18,000, or any other money of that type, ever went to me for my personal use. Every penny of it was used to pay for political expenses that I did not think should be charged to the taxpayers of the United States.

"It was not a secret fund . . . and I want to make this particularly clear—that no contributor to this fund, no contributor to any of my campaigns, has ever received any consideration that he would not have received as an ordinary constituent. . . .

"Well, then, some of you will say—and rightly—"Well, what did you use the fund for, Senator? Why did you have to have it?"

"Let me tell you in just a word how a Senate office operates. First of all, the Senator gets \$15,000 a year in salary. He gets enough money to pay for one trip a year—a round trip, that is—for himself and his family between his home and Washington, D.C.; and then he gets an allowance to handle the people that work in his office. . . . But there are other expenses which are not covered by the Government; and I think I can best discuss these expenses by asking you some questions.

"Do you think that when I or any other Senator makes a political speech, has it printed, should charge the printing of that speech and the mailing of that speech to the taxpayers?

"Do you think, for example, when I or any other Senator makes a trip to his home state to make a purely political speech that the cost of that trip should be charged to the taxpayers?

"Do you think when a Senator makes a political broadcast

or political television broadcast, radio or television, that the expense of those broadcasts should be charged to the taxpayers? . . . The answer is No, the taxpayers shouldn't be required to finance items which are not official business but which are primarily political business. . . .

"You say, 'Well, how do you pay for those and how can you do it legally?'

"There are several ways that it can be done, incidentally, that it is done legally in the United States Senate and in the Congress.

"The first way is to be a rich man. I don't happen to be a rich man; so I couldn't use that one.

"Another way it is used is to put your wife on the payroll. Let me say, incidentally, that my opponent, my opposite number for the Vice Presidency of the Democratic ticket does have his wife on the payroll and has had her on his payroll for the past ten years.

"Now, just let me say this: That's his business and I am not critical of him for doing that. You will have to pass judgment on that particular point. But I have never done that, for this reason: I have found that there are so many deserving stenographers and secretaries in Washington that needed to work that I just didn't feel it was right to put my wife on the payroll.

"My wife is sitting over here. She is a wonderful stenographer. She used to teach stenography and she used to teach shorthand in high school. That was where I met her. And I can tell you folks that she has worked many hours at night and many hours on Saturdays and Sundays in my office, and she has done a fine job; and I am proud to say tonight that in six years I have been in the House and Senate of the United States, Pat Nixon has never been on the Government payroll.

"There are other ways these finances can be taken care of. Some who are lawyers—and I happened to be a lawyer—con-

tinue to practice law, but I haven't been able to do that. I am so far away from California, and I have been so busy with my Senatorial work that I have not engaged in any legal practice. And also, as far as law practice is concerned, it seemed to me that the relationship between an attorney and client was so personal that you couldn't possibly represent a man as an attorney and then have an unbiased view when he presented his case to you in the event that he had one before the Government.

"And so I felt that the best way to handle these necessary political expenses of getting my message to the American people—and the speeches I made, the speeches that I had printed for the most part concerned this one message—of exposing this administration, the Communism in it, the corruption. The only way that I had to do that was to accept the aid which people in my home state of California who contributed to my campaign, and who continued to make these contributions after I was elected, were glad to make. . . .

"And I would like to tell you this evening that just an hour ago we received an independent audit of this entire fund. . . . I have that audit here in my hand. It is an audit made by the Price-Waterhouse and Company firm, and the legal opinion is by Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher, lawyers in Los Angeles, the biggest law firm, and incidentally one of the best ones, in Los Angeles. . . . I would like to read to you the opinion that was prepared by Gibson, Dunn and Crutcher and based on all the pertinent laws and statutes, together with the audit report prepared by the certified public accountants.

It is our conclusion that Senator Nixon did not obtain any financial gain from the collection and disbursement of the fund by Dana Smith; that Senator Nixon did not violate any Federal or State law by reason of the operation of the fund; and that neither the portion of the fund paid by Dana Smith directly to third persons, nor the

portion paid to Senator Nixon to reimburse him for designated office expenses, constituted income to the Senator which was either reportable or taxable as income under applicable tax laws.

(Signed) Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher,
by Elmo H. Connor

"Now . . . what I am going to do—and incidentally, this is unprecedented in the history of American politics—I am going, at this time, to give to this television and radio audience a complete financial history, everything I have earned, everything I have spent, everything I owe. And I want you to know the facts."

Then Richard Nixon, a man on trial, told his whole life story, from his birth, his schooling, his marriage, his service in the Navy, the \$10,000 he and Pat saved from their wartime earnings, his start in politics. Never before had a politician—or, perhaps, anyone else—told so detailed and intimate a story of his personal finances.

"Now, what have I earned since I went into politics?" he went on. "Well, here it is. I jotted it down. Let me read the notes.

"First of all, I have had my salary as a Congressman and as a Senator. Second, I have received a total in this past six years of \$1,600 from estates which were in my law firm at the time that I severed my connection with it.

"And, incidentally, as I said before, I have not engaged in any legal practice and have not accepted any fees from business that came into the firm after I went into politics.

"I have made an average of approximately \$1,500 a year from non-political speaking engagements and lectures.

"And, then, fortunately, we have inherited a little money. Pat sold her interest in her father's estate for \$3,000, and I inherited \$1,500 from my grandfather.

"We lived rather modestly. For four years, we lived in an apartment in Park Fairfax in Alexandria, Virginia. The rent was \$80 a month, and we saved for the time that we could buy a house. Now, that was what we took in.

"What did we do with this money? What do we have today to show for it? This will surprise you because it is so little, I suppose, as standards generally go of people in public life.

"First of all, we have got a house in Washington which cost \$41,000, and on which we owe \$20,000. We have a house in Whittier, California, which cost \$13,000, and on which we owe \$10,000. My folks are living there at the present time.

"I have just \$4,000 in life insurance, plus my GI policy, which I have never been able to convert, and which will run out in two years. I have no life insurance whatever on Pat; I have no life insurance on our two youngsters, Patricia and Julie.

"I own a 1950 Oldsmobile car. We have our furniture. We have no stocks and bonds of any type. We have no interest of any kind, direct or indirect, in any business.

"Now, that is what we have.

"What do we owe? Well, in addition to the mortgages, the \$20,000 on the house in Washington, the \$10,000 one on the house in Whittier, I owe \$4,500 to the Riggs Bank in Washington, D.C., with interest at 4½ per cent. I owe \$3,500 to my parents, and the interest on that loan, which I pay regularly, because it is the part of the savings they made through the years they were working so hard—I pay regularly 4 per cent interest.

"And then I have a \$500 loan which I have on my life insurance.

"Well, that's about it. That's what we have, and that's what we owe. It isn't very much, but Pat and I have the satisfaction that every dime that we have got is honestly ours.

"I should say this, that Pat doesn't have a mink coat, but she does have a respectable Republican cloth coat; and I always tell her that she'd look good in anything.

"One other thing I probably should tell you, because if I don't they'll probably be saying this about me, too. We did get something, a gift, after the election. A man down in Texas heard Pat on the radio mention the fact that our two youngsters would like to have a dog; and, believe it or not, the day before we left on this campaign trip we got a message from the Union Station in Baltimore saying they had a package for us.

"We went down to get it. You know what it was? It was a little cocker spaniel dog, in a crate, that he'd sent all the way from Texas; black and white spotted, and our little girl, 'Tricia, the six-year-old girl, named it Checkers. And, you know, the kids, like all kids, love the dog; and I just want to say this right now, that regardless of what they say about it, we are going to keep him."

Then Nixon made the understatement of the 1952 campaign: "It isn't easy to come before a nationwide audience and bare your life as I've done."

When Nixon had finished with his accounting he noted, by a quick glance at the clock, that he had used only half of the thirty minutes allotted to him. So smoothly that it appeared to be part of a script, he rose, stepped around the desk and went into one of his regular, hard-slashing campaign speeches, charging that the Truman Administration had misjudged the Communist menace and had winked at corruption.

"In spite of my explanation tonight," he said, "other smears will be made; others have been made in the past. And the purpose of the smears, I know, is this: to silence me, to make me let up.

"Well, they just don't know who they are dealing with.

"I am going to tell you this: I remember in the dark days

of the Hiss case some of the same columnists, some of the same radio commentators who are attacking me now and misrepresenting my position were violently opposing me at the time I was after Alger Hiss. But I continued to fight because I knew I was right. . . .

"And now finally I know that you wonder whether or not I am going to stay on the Republican ticket or resign.

"Let me say this: I don't believe that I ought to quit, because I am not a quitter. And, incidentally, Pat is not a quitter. After all, her name was Patricia Ryan, and she was born St. Patrick's Day—and you know the Irish never quit.

"But the decision, my friends, is not mine. I would do nothing that would harm the possibilities of Dwight Eisenhower to become President of the United States; and for that reason I am submitting to the Republican National Committee tonight, through this television broadcast, the decision which it is theirs to make.

"Let them decide whether my position on the ticket will help or hurt; and I am going to ask you to help them decide. Wire and write the Republican National Committee whether you think I should stay or whether I should get off; and whatever their decision is, I will abide by it.

"Just let me say this last word: Regardless of what happens, I am going to continue this fight. I am going to campaign up and down America until we drive the crooks and Communists and those that defend them out of Washington.

"And remember, folks, Eisenhower is a great man, believe me. He is a great man. . . ."

There, in mid-sentence, Nixon's time ran out and the television technicians cut him short, adding a closing point of drama to one of the most remarkable performances in United States political history. Richard Nixon turned his face away and broke into sobs.

Some anti-Nixon politicians, editorialists and columnists turned away from their television sets in revulsion, and condemned his performance as probably the most maudlin half hour of corn in political history. But that was not the opinion of the American people. In Cleveland, 15,000 people, jammed into the Public Auditorium to hear Dwight Eisenhower speak, listened transfixed to Nixon's speech, piped into the auditorium's public address system. When Nixon finished, the audience came to its feet in a roaring ovation before the empty rostrum, and then began to chant, "We want Nixon."

"Tonight," said Dwight Eisenhower, when he stepped before the Cleveland crowd, "I saw an example of courage. I have seen many brave men in tough situations. I have never seen any come through in better fashion than Senator Nixon did tonight." He announced that he was sending Nixon a telegram: "To complete the formulation of [my] personal decision, I feel the need of talking to you, and would be most appreciative if you could fly to see me at once. Tomorrow night I shall be at Wheeling, West Virginia. . . . Whatever personal admiration and affection I have for you (and they are very great) are undiminished."

It was a good thing that Eisenhower read the telegram publicly, because it was not delivered to Nixon until several days later. The telegraph and telephone facilities that led to him were jammed with messages. Before the flood ended, more than two million Americans had telephoned or wired or written. The verdict of those two million was almost unanimous for Nixon. When Nixon's airplane touched down at Wheeling the night after his speech, Dwight Eisenhower, who had been waiting at the airport for more than an hour, bounded up the steps and into the plane. "Why, General, you shouldn't have come out here," the candidate for Vice President said. "Dick," said the candidate for President, "you're my boy."

After that there was little specific attack on the "Nixon fund," even from the most enthusiastic supporters of the Democratic ticket. There was good reason for this. As a result of the furor about the Nixon fund, it was disclosed that Adlai Stevenson, as Governor of Illinois, had not one but two special political funds. One amounted to \$18,150, exactly \$85 less than the Nixon fund. The biggest single revealed contributor to the Stevenson funds was Marshall Field, Jr., publisher of the Chicago *Sun-Times*, who gave at least \$7,100; there was one anonymous item of \$5,000; the C.I.O. United Auto Workers and United Steel Workers Unions gave \$2,500 each. Stevenson had used the first fund to supplement the personal income of certain appointed state officials, he said, "to improve the quality of public administration in Illinois." The man who benefited most was Stevenson's publicity man, William I. Flanagan, whose salary was \$7,500 a year, and who received \$7,900 from the special fund, as direct personal income.

The second Stevenson fund was recalled by two former Illinois purchasing agents, William J. McKinney and David H. Cummings. They remembered that Stevenson had arranged for that fund after he was elected, and thought that it was used to support Stevenson's candidates for the legislature and to pay some of Stevenson's own political expenses. The man in charge of this fund, said McKinney, was the late James Mulroy, who was Stevenson's executive secretary. Each month Mulroy got a list of firms doing business with the state. "Mulroy was under orders not to pressure these people," said McKinney, "but I think it was his idea to call on them and ask if they cared to contribute." How much there was in that fund, or exactly how it was spent, was never explained.

When the battle of the funds was over, many a Republican strategist thought that the G.O.P. had won the argument that the Democrats had started. But it was by no means the last at-

tack on Richard Nixon. Until the end of the campaign, Nixon's enemies tried to tarnish him with new charges of corruption. None was even remotely proved. He had caught the political attack on the "Nixon fund" and had turned it into an asset, instead of a liability, for himself and for the Republican ticket.

VII.

AT THE RIGHT HAND

"The Vice President is a political animal."

RICHARD NIXON was sworn in as Vice President of the United States just eleven days after his fortieth birthday. He was the first Vice President born in the twentieth century, and he saw that his time and his circumstance opened up new responsibilities and new opportunities for the position he held.

Under the new Eisenhower-Nixon concept of the Vice Presidency, Nixon became an effective deputy of the President. Previous Presidents and Vice Presidents had never seen the position in that light. Harry Truman had been inclined to look upon the Vice President as a member of the legislative branch of the government, who could not expect to share the confidences of the President. In his memoirs, Truman wrote: "The President, by necessity, builds his own staff, and the Vice President remains an outsider, no matter how friendly the two may be. There are many reasons for this, but an important one is the fact that both the President and the Vice President are, or should be, astute politicians, and neither can take the other completely into his confidence."

Under the Eisenhower Administration concept, the Vice

President did not remain an outsider. First of all, Nixon became a catalyst—to bring the White House and the Congress together. When Wisconsin's Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy was causing trouble for the new Administration on Capitol Hill, it was Nixon who took over the task of holding McCarthy in check and then putting him in his place. He arranged military briefings for Congressional leaders, advised high officers of the Administration how to present their case to Congress and worked for Administration programs when they got to Capitol Hill. In the fight over Secretary of Defense Charles Wilson's first cut in the military budget, Nixon counseled that only Dwight Eisenhower's personal weight could win the Administration's point. He was proven right. Nixon broke a Cabinet deadlock over the St. Lawrence Seaway by telling the President that Canada would build the seaway without United States participation, if necessary, and since the seaway was both right and inevitable the United States should join in the project without further delay. He did mountains of homework to familiarize himself with all of the Administration programs, and was careful never to pull his rank on a member of Congress. When he wanted to bend a Congressional ear, he would call his target and say: "This is Dick Nixon. I'd like to come over and see you for a few minutes when you're free."

Nixon's quiet, active and important role gradually impressed itself upon Washington. By midsummer, 1953, Arthur Krock was reporting in the *New York Times* that "Persons familiar with the Vice President's helpful activities have told this correspondent that they consider them unique in the records of his high office." By December, Robert Coughlan was writing in *Life*: "He has made the Vice Presidency, hitherto the butt of ridicule, an important office and has established himself as an 'assistant President,' a mover and shaper of national and world affairs."

Then he became the President's world-traveling representative, ambassador and reporter. With Mrs. Nixon, he spent ten weeks traveling 45,539 miles to spread good will and pick up good information in the Far East. Traveling by Constellation, helicopter, limousine, jeep, tractor, oxcart and imperial coach, he visited nineteen Pacific and Asian lands. He followed the same pattern that he had used in campaigning for Congress in California's Twelfth District: work hard and keep it simple. Aloft between countries, while his wife wrote thank-you notes to the last stop, the Vice President was briefed intensively by U.S. Foreign Service men on the situation in the next country on the list. On the ground, he astonished Asians by reaching over security fences to shake hands with children, laborers or charwomen. In Wellington, New Zealand, he opened a state luncheon of high New Zealand officials by praising the waiters and the musicians; in Indonesia he stopped a cavalcade of thirty-five cars to visit a schoolyard full of wide-eyed Moslem youngsters; in Malaya he upset a detailed schedule to talk with victims of a devastating fire. A Singapore newspaper headlined his visit: **NIXON CHATS WITH COMMON MAN.**

Discussing this aspect of his trip, later, the Vice President said: "What we have done is only the same thing we do all the time at home. We always try to meet people wherever we are." Nixon estimated that he shook hands with more than ten thousand Asians. Why see these ordinary people? "We wanted them to know America, and we wanted to know them." He recalled that the "very wise and very young" King of Siam had told him that the Siamese people needed military assistance, economic assistance and understanding. "Significantly enough," said Nixon, "he told me that understanding was the most important of the three."

Where he could, Nixon tried to see important problems first hand. In Malaya, he went into the jungle to talk to a Commu-

nist terrorist who had just surrendered, and to British troops who were on patrol there. "There are a lot of people in the United States," he told the troops, "who are mighty appreciative and thankful for what you British soldiers are doing in the jungles of Malaya. It's a battle for all of us. Good show and good hunting!" This was, said a British official, a case of saying exactly the right words at the right time. In Burma, he walked into an anti-American demonstration of Burmese leftists at Pegu, an ancient city some fifty miles from Rangoon, on the edge of territory frequently fought over by Communist bands. The demonstrators carried placards on which were scrawled crude verses about the "Yankee warmonger." A radio-equipped truck was blaring the same sentiments in English. To the amazement of Burmese officials, Nixon insisted on walking among the demonstrators and stopping to talk with some of them. The entire crowd gathered around. The demonstration broke up when Nixon shook hands with the demonstrators, and Mrs. Nixon smilingly said good-bye. "I wanted to show that we are not afraid of them," Nixon explained.

Back at home, Nixon reported that he found a "great well of friendship for America" in Asia, but warned: "There are millions of people in this area of the world who honestly believe in their hearts that the United States is just as great a threat to peace as are the Soviet Union and Communist China." He came back with a number of firm and fortified conclusions about United States policy. Among them: 1. The United States should not even talk about recognizing Communist China. One reason: such talk would discourage thirteen million overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia from moving away from the Communist side. 2. The Communist menace in Japan, especially in the labor unions, had been underestimated. More encouragement of non-Communist laborites was needed. 3. Trade among the nations of the free world must be greatly increased. When

he finished making his report to the National Security Council, the members—for the first time in the organization's history—applauded.

Later, following the same pattern, the Nixons traveled 8,500 miles through Mexico and the Caribbean area, getting keys to cities, eating bananas in banana republics, shaking hands with grinning laborers, sipping coconut milk. As on the Asian trip, the Vice President encountered some touchy situations. He heard Nicaragua's President Anastasio Somoza growl that Costa Rican President Figueres had helped a plot to assassinate Somoza, then went on to Costa Rica where Figueres had been denouncing Somoza for having mounted an invasion of Costa Rica. He drew a promise from both to try for a peaceful settlement of their quarrel. In rum-producing Haiti, he discovered that President Paul Magloire had been criticized because he preferred whisky to rum, so he took Magloire aside and showed him how to make a good rum collins (a jigger of Haitian rum, a half teaspoon of sugar, soda water and plenty of squeezed lime juice). He came home to recommend, among other points, that the United States promote stronger regional coalition in Central America to ensure greater economic and political stability.

At home, the Vice Presidency took the Nixons' life and turned it upside down. When he was a member of the House and then of the Senate, they had little social life. He was, as usual, too busy. As Mr. and Mrs. Vice President, they are called upon, often as representatives of Mr. and Mrs. President, to be the leading social figures in Washington. They are out an average of five nights a week; once they attended formal social functions eighteen nights in a row. The Vice President keeps an electric razor at his office, and has his dinner clothes brought there for quick changing. He has learned to mow down his formidable five-o'clock shadow in five minutes, to get into black

tie in ten and into white tie in fifteen. At a party the Nixons are gregarious, pleasant and, by habit, examples of moderation. Neither of them smokes. Mrs. Nixon does not drink at all, and he has only an occasional highball. They begin their move toward home around ten thirty, with the aim of being in bed by midnight.

Most of the Nixons' official entertaining is done at a club or hotel, often the exclusive 1925 F Street Club, because their house will not accommodate big parties (the dining room seats no more than eight comfortably). The house is the same one Candidate Nixon described in his famous "fund" speech during the 1952 campaign. It is a comfortable, four-bedroom, white brick colonial house on a corner lot at 4801 Tilden Street, N.W., in Spring Valley, a suburb of Washington. A prototype of the upper-middle-class suburban home, it is so neat, inside and out, that it looks like an ad in *House Beautiful*. "I'm as orderly as an old maid," Mrs. Nixon once said, "and so is Dick." One of the Nixons' problems at home is that curious people are constantly driving by or parking out front to stare at the house, and sometimes they come to the door and ring the bell.

Like millions of other breadwinners who have to get off to work in the morning, the Vice President usually eats breakfast at a small table in the kitchen, beside a window overlooking the back yard. Standard menu: two kinds of fruit, toast and one cup of coffee (a little sugar, a little cream). The Nixons' exuberant, unspoiled daughters, who go to a nearby public school, usually have breakfast with their father. Since that is his best chance to see them during the day, they take up most of his attention at breakfast. At times, however, in a way that is familiar in the American metropolitan household, father's attention strays to the morning papers. By 8 A.M. a driver is in front of the house with the Vice President's official car, and

Nixon is off to Capitol Hill, reading the *New York Times* on the way. He dislikes social lunches, prefers to have a sandwich, a glass of milk and some fruit at his desk, talking business to someone while he eats. Late at night, even after those formal dinners, he likes to forage in the kitchen for a bowl of chili or a hamburger and a glass of milk before he goes to bed.

Pat Nixon, a chic, svelte, attractive strawberry blonde, has a schedule equally as full as her husband's. She has a maid five days a week, does a share of the work around the house on those days, and all of it when the maid is off. Since her husband is not a very handy man around the house and has been too busy to engage in much handymanship anyway, Mrs. Nixon has learned to drive nails, put up hooks, fix squeaky stairs and sticky doors, put new washers in faucets and new plugs on electric cords. She does most of her own marketing at a supermarket not far from their home, and does her best to be home when the girls arrive from school. In addition to these familiar chores as a wife and mother, and the evenings out as Mrs. Vice President, she has a considerable load of more or less official duties. She personally answers hundreds of letters, goes to countless luncheons, teas, bazaars and benefits.

The Nixons try to make Sunday a family day, but their schedule being what it is, the effort is not always successful. On Sunday mornings they take the girls to Sunday school at the Westmoreland Congregational Church near their home, and occasionally they attend services there. When he does not have urgent work to do, the Vice President likes to spend Sunday afternoon at home reading or playing the piano while the girls sing and dance. Sometimes at night, after the children are asleep, he will sit at the Baldwin spinet for half an hour, improvising on Brahms and Bach. The piano is virtually his only relaxation. He took up golf in 1950, went at it with his

customary earnestness, and got down to 90. But he has little time to play—at golf or anything else.

The passing years and his crushing schedule have left some wrinkles around the Vice President's eyes, but he still looks younger than his years. He has managed to maintain an athletic weight of around 175 pounds on his near-six-foot frame.

The Nixons have few intimate friends; their schedule does not permit them that pleasure. Probably the Vice President's closest personal friend in Washington is Assistant United States Attorney General William Rogers, at whose home he sought seclusion on the Sunday in 1955 when President Eisenhower's heart attack suddenly focused the full glare of public attention on the house at 4801 Tilden Street. The fact that he has few close friends does not mean that Nixon has little interest in people. Unlike some great politicians who are interested in humanity in the mass and in the abstract, Nixon is interested in human beings individually and collectively. His tendency to shake hands with the charwoman and pat the shoe-shine boy on the head is based as much on a genuine feeling for them as it is on political considerations. He remembers his own thoughts and troubles and hopes as the fruit-and-vegetable boy at Nixon's Market.

A striking example of his attitude toward human beings, individually, occurred in Manila in 1953. A policeman in the Vice President's escort through the city was thrown off a motorcycle and fatally injured. Nixon heard about the accident just as he left for a formal dinner, and expressed great concern to American Embassy attachés. After the dinner, he got an official aside and said, "I've got to do something for that policeman's widow." The United States Embassy arranged for the widow to meet the Vice President the next morning at seven, and at Nixon's orders tried to keep the meeting secret from the press. When he arrived at the meeting place, photographers

were waiting. Nixon refused to go inside until the photographers went away. After offering the widow his sympathy, he handed her an envelope containing one thousand pesos and told her, "Here's something that some of the Americans in Manila have contributed to help you in your grief." Said one American official: "That was a wonderful thing to say. He could have said, just as easily, that the gift was from himself. And he honestly did not want any publicity about it at all. He was really moved by that policeman's death."

Later, when correspondents pieced together the story by talking to others involved, even the most cynical were impressed. That Manila policeman's widow and her friends could not deliver many votes in the next election.

As Vice President, Nixon turned down all invitations to make speeches for pay (at prices up to \$2,500 an appearance), but he was always ready when the President, the Administration or the Republican Party needed a major spokesman. At most big political meetings, Nixon was there, advising on strategy, outlining what the party should stand for, leading the cheers, firing at the opposition. In the 1954 Congressional election campaign, he was on the road forty-eight days, visited ninety-five cities in thirty states, flew 26,000 miles, made 204 speeches, held more than one hundred news conferences. The President, Mr. Nixon has said, has to keep himself more or less aloof from individual political contests. "But the Vice President is not in that category. He is a political animal."

Operating under that philosophy, Richard Nixon became the chief political spokesman for the Eisenhower Administration. He also became the chief target of the opposition—more of a target than any other Vice President in United States history. There were a number of reasons for this. One was obvious. A man of Dwight Eisenhower's tremendous stature and widespread popularity was difficult to attack. Since Eisenhower's

popularity clearly spanned party lines, most Democratic strategists held to the theory that it was not good politics to attack him. But party antagonism had to find an outlet and there was a ready target—Richard Nixon. There were other factors, too. By his slashing attacks on past Democratic Administrations and present Democratic organization leaders, Nixon infuriated his foes and invited their fire. Illogically, he was attacked on the one hand as an unknowing boy scout, and on the other hand as an unprincipled political fixer. The attacks took many forms, from political argument to compounded errors to downright fraud.

Just before the 1952 election, columnist Drew Pearson reported that in 1951 Mrs. Nixon had filed in California, for herself and her husband, a sworn statement that the total value of their property was not more than \$10,000. Pearson said that this was done to enable the Nixons to obtain a special California tax exemption allowed to veterans with little property. Pointedly adding that Nixon made a \$20,000 down payment on his Washington house in the same year, Pearson asked: "If he lacked \$10,000 in March of 1951, where did he get the \$20,000 in July?" The inferences were clear: Nixon either was chiseling on his California tax, or he had taken a bag of money from some unknown source. Investigation proved that it was another Richard Nixon, unknown to and no kin of the Vice President, who had applied for the tax exemption in California. Nixon demanded a retraction, and columnist Pearson admitted that he had erred. But Pearson's original, erroneous charge was frequently alluded to later by others, without reference to the retraction.

At about the time the false tax-exemption story was being printed, two letters purporting to show that Nixon had taken \$52,000 from oil interests to "serve the industry" in the Senate were being passed around among anti-Nixon journalists. Later

both letters were proved to be forgeries and part of a scheme to smear Nixon.

During the 1952 campaign there were persistent whispers, in the most effective places, that Nixon was anti-Semitic. When it was pointed out that his chief political adviser in California, Murray Chotiner, is Jewish, Nixon's critics went off on a different tangent and attacked him for associating with a professional political promoter like Chotiner. The Community Relations Committee of the Los Angeles Jewish Community Council, through its chairman Judge Isaac Pacht, issued a statement on the whole anti-Semitism issue, with particular reference to Nixon. "Against Senator Nixon the insinuations of anti-Semitism have been particularly vicious," Judge Pacht said. "There are many of us who support the Senator for the Vice Presidency. There are many of us who oppose him. Whatever our political differences, however, upon this one fact we have no difference. We resent and deplore this accusation. Democrats and Republicans alike, we want it placed squarely on public record that any charges of anti-Semitism against Senator Nixon are utterly and totally unfounded. We make this statement only after the most assiduous inquiry."

After the 1954 campaign, Democratic National Chairman Paul Butler set up in Washington a "Chamber of Smears," designed to show that the Republicans and principally Vice President Nixon, had attacked Democrats unfairly. One of the chief displays was a placard headlined:

**THE ALL AMERICAN BOY DEMAGOGUE
NIXON GIVES McCARTHYISM THAT JACK ARMSTRONG LOOK**

A close examination of the "chamber," however, showed that it contained only scattered and minor references to the Vice President. Much of the space was devoted to local adver-

tisements against Democratic candidates—ads that had no connection whatever with Richard Nixon. In an effort to show that Nixon had made false charges against the Democrats on the subversion issue, the display featured a series of Nixon's campaign quotations. One looked particularly bad. He was quoted as having claimed, in Huron, South Dakota, that the Eisenhower Administration was "kicking the Communists out of the government, not by the hundreds, but by the thousands." The quotation was based on an erroneous press association dispatch, from which two phrases had been dropped. A tape recording taken when Nixon made the speech proved that he had said the Eisenhower Administration was "kicking the Communists and fellow travelers and security risks out of the government, not by the hundreds, but by the thousands." The press association sent out a correction. But long after the error was established, the Democratic National Committee continued to use the erroneous version.

At times, anti-Nixon editorialists brooded about the many charges they had heard, packaged their thoughts and made a frontal assault on the Vice President. The New Orleans *Item* editorialized late in 1955: "What would a President Nixon be like? Good or bad for the nation? The President, who should know Nixon better than any other public figure, calls the Vice President 'one of the great leaders of men.' But other students of the young Californian's career cannot, for the life of them, find any basis for such a conclusion. Nixon has always stood four-square for party unity. On other matters he has been what a sympathizer might call 'flexible.' The word that best describes Nixon's attitudes on matters of policy and principle is 'opportunist.' . . . Lots of shrewd political maneuvering; practically no leadership in anything more elevated. After studying Nixon we find ourselves asking this question: what, besides the betterment of the Republican Party and Richard M. Nixon, does he

really stand for?" This kind of attack on Nixon illustrated a common state of mind among his opponents, but it showed less than thorough consideration for his record.

In an art exhibit in San Francisco in the fall of 1955, there appeared a lithograph showing Nixon as a black-masked hood-lum. In one hand he carried a brush daubed in red and a bucket labeled SMEAR; in the other hand, he had a pumpkin. The SMEAR obviously referred to the often-repeated charge that Nixon had used the Communist subversion issue unfairly against his foes, and the pumpkin clearly was in reference to the Hiss case, during which Whittaker Chambers at one time concealed microfilm evidence in a pumpkin on his farm. The caricature was painted by Victor Arnautoff, an art instructor at Stanford University, who labeled the work, DICK MCSMEAR.

After the lithograph had hung for less than a day, Harold Zellerbach, president of the San Francisco Art Commission, ordered it taken down. He said that such a piece had no place in an art exhibit paid for by public funds. When Nixon heard about the furor, he sent off a telegram to Zellerbach: "I have just received a full report of the controversy over the Arnautoff lithograph. I can understand your position that a public exposition sponsored and paid for by all the people is not a proper forum for partisan political cartoons. However, one of the most sacred precepts of our Anglo-American legal heritage is the right of individuals to criticize public officials, provided they exercise that right with due regard for the rights of others to be protected from activities which threaten to disturb the peace.

"Mr. Arnautoff's standing as an artist is attested to by the fact he is on the staff of one of the great American universities. And because of the position he holds, his views on any subject have particular significance.

"While it is probable that a majority of Americans believe that the investigations which led to the conviction of Alger Hiss

were properly conducted and beneficial to the nation, Mr. Arnautoff has the right to express a contrary opinion and the people should not be denied a full opportunity to hear or see his expression of that opinion."

One of the most fantastic charges against Vice President Nixon was circulated at the time of the President's illness in 1955. At least one columnist printed and some others wrote around a rumor that Nixon was plotting to seize the powers of the President. The fact was that, throughout the President's illness, Nixon was scrupulously careful to avoid taking any step that would remotely indicate that he wanted to or was attempting to usurp any Presidential powers or prerogatives. He was in a difficult position. He had to be more than a Vice President, but considerably less than a President. For the way he conducted himself he won the general admiration and acclaim of the older men he worked with in the Administration, and of the President.

Many of the attacks on Nixon were so wide of the mark as to be downright ridiculous, or worse. Writing in *Look*, Richard Wilson, chief correspondent for the Cowles magazines and newspapers, summed up the situation: "No charge of wrongdoing has been sustained against Nixon, though he has been, and continues to be, subjected to a smear campaign without parallel. . . . Every charge impugning Nixon's integrity thus far has, upon investigation, shown that the facts have been twisted and tortured into something they were not."

Nevertheless, by the beginning of Nixon's fourth year as Vice President, the constant fire at him had impressed itself on the American consciousness. As a result of the persistent attacks, quite a few United States citizens had vague doubts about Nixon, which some of them could not really explain, but which were nonetheless there. For some, the criticisms boiled down to conversation about how he looked, or what he had

said, or how he had said it. Some thought that he was, or at least looked, too young to be so close to the White House. Others thought his jaws were too wide, or his eyes too sharp. Some thought his speeches were too corny, or that he exaggerated, or made unfair accusations, or was too partisan, or not erudite enough. To others, it was just "something."

Richard Nixon is not a man of vanity. In his presence, his staff could talk about how his "ski-jump nose" looked in a picture and get a laugh from him. He was not worried about the attacks on his jaws or his eyes or his nose. But he and his associates were concerned about the total political impact of the attacks, and recognized their net effect as a political obstacle to be overcome. They thought that he could and would overcome it, as he had overcome some formidable political obstacles in the past.

One of Vice President Nixon's most notable characteristics is his practical, orderly mind. He likes to take a complicated situation and reduce it to its simplest, clearest terms. He weighs the angles, the facts on each side, the pros and cons, then adds up the totals, compares them and reaches a conclusion. In thinking and in conversation, as well as in his speeches, he arranges his points, one, two, three, often with subheads under the main divisions. "There are three things that could happen this year," he would say. "Now first . . ."

With remarkable coolness, Richard Nixon has applied this kind of simplifying analysis to his own situation, to how he got there, and to where he might go. Asked at one time whether he thought that his rapid rise indicated that he was moving under a lucky star or by the impetus of some unknown force, as Whittaker Chambers appeared to be suggesting in his analysis of the Hiss case, Nixon had a matter-of-fact answer: "I think anybody's life in politics is affected a great deal by chance. History will show that two men may have equal abilities, but

opportunity comes to one, not to the other. In my case a lot of things were factors—geography, age, service in the House and Senate, a chance to be associated with the issues of the day. Certain circumstances developed and I happened to be tapped on the shoulder."

A Basic Philosophy: Freedom

VIII.

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

“Concentration of power is dangerous even when it is necessary.”

A CRITIC of Richard Nixon wrote, in a major American magazine in 1955, that Nixon was a man “innocent of doctrine.” Nothing could be further from the truth. Nixon has a doctrine—a basic philosophy—which has been developing in him since those high school orations on the Constitution (and perhaps before that). It is not easy to describe a man’s philosophy in a phrase, but in the case of Nixon it is possible. His philosophy is based on the principle of freedom of enterprise and of opportunity, under the law.

To some opinion molders in the United States in 1956, this is an unbearable cliché. Nixon knows that, but with him it is an article of faith. This faith has run through all of his public utterances, since that day in 1945 when he told the Republican fact-finding committee in the Twelfth Congressional District of California that “I hold with . . . individual freedoms and all that initiative can produce.” After the committee had accepted him, and he had gone back to Baltimore to complete his Navy service, he put on paper some of his convictions about the role

that the U. S. Government should play in that era. In a letter to Roy O. Day, chairman of the Twelfth Congressional District's Republican Central Committee, in December, 1945, he wrote: "In the field of national affairs grave problems face the country during the reconversion period. On the other hand, opportunities for progress unequaled in the nation's history are within our grasp if the true principles of American constitutional government are allowed to operate. The inventive genius and industrial know-how which have made America great must not be stifled by unnecessary bureaucratic restrictions. Economic dictatorship by irresponsible government agencies must never be allowed to become an accepted principle of our American system of government."

When he began to campaign through the district, early in 1946, he preached his philosophy everywhere he went.

Opening his campaign at a Republican Lincoln Day rally in Pomona, on February 12, 1946: "We must bring the government back from Washington into the hands of all the people, for the evils of personal government have led to the verge of chaos. It is important to reduce the fields of necessary government control to bare essentials, for whoever leans upon the government will find that the government will eventually control him."

Before the Downey, California, Rotary Club, that same month: "The secret of success for this nation in the past and future lies in the ability and enthusiasm of the ordinary man and the fact that he has not been treated as a regimented puppet."

At a rally in El Monte, in September, 1946: "I do not favor the socialization of any free American institutions. I believe that there are enough experiments in the world in which people are turning over their freedoms to government in exchange for what government promises to do for them. The hope of Amer-

ica and of the world lies in a vigorous demonstration in thi country of the strength and productiveness of a free people.

"Any government program should be based upon the fundamental principle that government should work with and through private enterprise toward accomplishing the great humanitarian goals we desire, of providing housing, medical care, jobs and opportunity for our people.

"America is a great country not because of our industrial wealth or military might, but because from the time of our foundation we have recognized the dignity and responsibility of men as individuals. Here in this community you can see America in action. Men and women working out their own problems, building their businesses, asking nothing from their government except an opportunity to live a free, decent life. Let us do everything in our power to maintain in America a system of government which will always guarantee to our people an opportunity to make their own individual contributions to the fulfillment of America's destiny."

After Nixon went to Washington as a freshman member of the House, he began to translate his general principle into specific terms on legislation. At times it cropped out where it was hardly expected. In his newsletter to his home district, *Under the Capitol Dome*, published on March 31, 1948, he applied his basic philosophy to an oleomargarine tax bill.

"The House Agriculture Committee recently defeated legislation to repeal Federal taxes on colored oleomargarine," he wrote, "thus effectively blocking efforts to bring the matter to the House floor for a vote, at least for the present.

"I do not believe in the right of the Federal Government to discriminate against one kind of food in favor of another. Furthermore, apart from the discrimination feature of the ole-

margarine tax, I do not believe in the principle of Federal taxation on food.

"There is no middle ground on this issue. Either the tax is right or it is wrong. Since I believe it is wrong, I signed this week the discharge petition to the Speaker's desk to bring the oleo tax repeal bill out of the Agriculture Committee for a House vote.

"It is not my purpose, nor would it be pertinent to the issue, to discuss the relative merits of oleomargarine and butter. It seems to me that this is a matter which should be determined by the housewife and the consumer. I believe that each product should be conspicuously labeled on its carton, and on restaurant menus, and then 'let the chips fall where they may.' "

On the question of development of natural resources, Nixon's basic philosophy again was at work. In his campaign for the Senate in 1950, he said: "We must not allow progress to be retarded by quarreling among ourselves over such questions as whether power should be furnished by public or private interests. . . . As far as the power issue is concerned, I say it should be resolved on the basis of who can furnish the best service to the people at the lowest cost—public or private companies."

But he was firmly for local control. "It is essential that the extent of government action in the development of our water and power resources be limited to the necessary assistance which cannot be provided at the state or local level," he said. "But once these projects are constructed, control of their operation should be left to the people on the scene who know their local problems best, and not with the bureaucrats in Washington."

And, in the last analysis, he was for private enterprise where it could do the job. He said: "Generally speaking, I would not favor the extension of government ownership or operations in the so-called public utility field except in those cases where it

is established that existing private utility companies are unable to furnish necessary service. . . . I do not favor construction of competing public lines against private lines."

In that 1950 campaign against Helen Gahagan Douglas, Nixon had an opportunity to pit his philosophy against one that was almost entirely the opposite. He made the most of the opportunity. In a radio talk on October 30, 1950, he drew the issue sharply.

"She says that the way to wealth and prosperity is for the government to take various institutions and enterprises in the nation and either operate them directly or control them from Washington," he said. "I say that we already have too much government ownership and control and that the way to increase our productive capacity and our wealth is to adopt a program which will encourage to the fullest extent possible individual opportunity and co-operative effort. . . .

"We all recognize that large expenditures by the Federal Government are essential to our security and welfare. But we must also recognize that the Federal Government does not spend a dollar unless it has first taken it from the people. Consequently, in voting for appropriations of the people's money in Washington, I believe that I have a solemn duty to see that the people get their money's worth. Unless the dollar which is taken from the taxpayer and spent in Washington goes back to the people with interest, either in money or in security, I say that generally speaking the taxpayer back at home knows better how to spend his own money than does some bureaucrat in Washington.

"During this period when we are spending so much for necessary military expenses, I say that we must cut unnecessary spending for nonessential purposes right to the bone. Such a program when combined with a program of necessarily high taxes during this critical period will enable us to put our de-

fense spending program on a pay-as-you-go basis as early as possible. This means that we not only take the pressure off the Federal budget and reduce the danger of national bankruptcy, but that we also take the pressure off the family budget. Because when the government spends more than it takes in in taxes, the result is high prices. I say, therefore, it is in the best interests of all the people to have our Federal Government run as economically as possible, consistent with the necessary services which must be performed."

Warnings about too much taxation run through Nixon's public utterances throughout his political career. In the 1950 campaign, he recommended that—as an incentive—Federal taxes for new businesses be prorated over a period of five years. But he held to the position that no taxpayer should be permitted to fix his way out of an obligation. In January, 1952, during the Internal Revenue Service scandals, he proposed that the Secretary of the Treasury be required to give Congress complete reports on all tax settlements entered into by the Revenue Service in which the tax liability was reduced by \$1,000 or more. His purpose: to prevent big taxpayers from corrupting Revenue Service employees and thereby evading their just share of taxes.

But he did not confine his discussion of the issue to the big taxes. On May 29, 1950, in a campaign radio broadcast, he said: "The day is past when only the rich pay the taxes. Even if you don't own any property or pay any income tax, you pay taxes every time you buy anything—five cents, in a hundred hidden taxes, on a fifteen-cent loaf of bread, for example, and twenty cents in taxes on a seventy-cent pound of meat. You pay so much to the government, in fact, that the average American is working one day out of four today for his government."

Early in Nixon's political career his position on free enterprise prompted the charge, from his New Deal and Fair Deal

opponents, that he was a tool of big-business interests. He recognized that issue in the 1950 campaign, and defined his position: "I say that we must take effective action against any monopolistic practices which have the effect of stifling small business and new enterprise. In addition, we must have a policy of providing tax incentives to new businesses, and we must cut government bureaucracy and red tape which are virtually choking the small businessman to death. We must recognize that a free-opportunity system, to mean anything at all, must mean opportunity for those at the bottom as well as those at the top. . . .

"There is far too great a tendency in both government and business circles to pay lip service to free enterprise and unbridled opportunity. Too many are seeking freedom and opportunity for themselves alone. . . . I grew up in a small business, and I believe that small business is in the very best American tradition. It is essential that we adopt a policy which will . . . reverse the greatest growth of monopoly in business and industry in our national history, which has taken place under this Administration during the last eighteen years. Although we are constantly bombarded with loudly publicized attacks on the so-called big interests by Administration leaders, there is more and more evidence in Washington of a cynical alliance between them and big-business interests who play 'footsie' with the Administration and receive their rewards for doing so. Certain Administration favorites who know the right people in Washington, for example, are able to obtain huge government loans, in the millions of dollars, in order to begin and to remain in business."

In the Douglas campaign, Nixon made much of an issue that was burning in California then and was soon to catch fire nationally: tidelands. Characteristically, he related the issue to his general philosophy.

"I believe that one of the greatest sources of our strength as a nation," he said, "is the principle of placing responsibility upon state and local governments rather than on the Federal Government, wherever possible. Generally speaking, someone in California is better qualified than someone in Washington to make decisions affecting the people of this state. That is why I join with Senator [Sheridan] Downey, Senator [William] Knowland and all the members of California's delegation in the House of Representatives, except my opponent, in fighting for California's ownership of our tidelands."

Nixon could see evidence supporting his position wherever he went. When he was in Greece in 1947 with the Herter committee, he gleaned an argument for his case from a Greek peasant boy. He used it to make his point in a speech before the National Association of Retail Grocers in Chicago on June 15, 1951.

"We went up to the northern part of the country, because we wanted an opportunity to talk, if possible, to some of the Communists who were fighting against the Greek Government. We landed in Phlorina, a little town which at that time was completely surrounded by Communist troops. It is right on the Greek-Yugoslav border. We got out of our plane, walked around the village, and talked to some of the loyalist leaders, and very fortunately were able to interview some of the captured Communists who had given themselves up just a few days before. Let me tell you my conversation with one of them. He was a peasant lad, about eighteen years of age. I asked him how it was that he happened to enter the Communist army, and this is the story that he told.

"He said that six months before the Communists overran his village. They took him into Communist army imprisonment along with other young men from the village. And then, he

said, 'they proceeded to indoctrinate us in Communist ideology.' I said, 'Well, now, that is interesting. What did they tell you you were fighting for?' He thought for a moment and he said, 'They told us we were fighting for democracy.'

"I said, 'For democracy? What did they tell you were the democracies?' He thought a moment again and said, 'They said the democracies were Russia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Rumania.' I said, 'Well, now, that's very interesting. What did they tell you about Great Britain and the United States on that score?'

"He thought a long time, and then he said, 'They said that Great Britain, she is finished, and the United States, how long will she last?'

"There is a great lesson for us in the words of that simple Greek peasant, and that lesson is this: Military strength is important, but we must remember that the men in the Kremlin have said over and over again that they may not have to defeat the capitalist countries in a war—that they may be able to force us to destroy our economies from within in our attempt to defend them from enemies from without. And for that reason, during this period of tremendous military preparedness, it is vitally essential that we keep the economy of this government strong and sound and productive. That is why it becomes necessary as we prepare ourselves militarily to defend the nation against enemies abroad, that we declare war on waste and inefficiency in our government at home. That is why that at a time when we must necessarily spend so much for military purposes, we must cut non-defense spending right down to the bone, because otherwise we will run the risk of winning the war militarily and losing it economically."

After the Eisenhower Administration took over in Washington in 1953, Vice President Nixon felt that the U. S. Govern-

ment was at last set on the course he believed in. "We aim to strengthen and deepen the ideal of freedom here at home," he told the Bureau of Advertising of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, in April, 1953. "We hope to encourage and aid other peoples to enjoy the same blessings of freedom abroad. In this sense our foreign and domestic policies are one—freedom is our goal.

"Let us examine the objectives of the Eisenhower Administration at home in the light of our goal of freedom for all men.

"We wish to restore to the people much of the power which has centered in the Federal Government during the past twenty years.

"Concentration of power is dangerous even when it is necessary. Power corrupts even the strongest of men. The task of this Administration is to reverse the process of the last twenty years. We must examine with a fresh eye every function of the Federal Government. The question must arise time and again—is this power necessary? Could the state handle it better? Should it be left to private groups? Is it a matter for business, labor, or farmers to handle themselves?

"Our wish is to return to the spirit of the Constitution and the ideals of government held by our Founding Fathers. They held that government was the servant, not the master, of the people. It exists to help the individual, the family, the private organizations, not to absorb them. It does this best when power is widely diffused and closest to the individual citizen.

"Only when problems are truly national should the Federal Government intervene. When power is close to the individual citizen he is better able to control its use. He can see its results, he knows personally the men who administer it, he understands its costs.

"In such situations a voter's views really count. He isn't merely one of 160 million. He is a respected citizen who can

talk to his mayor, his police chief, his school board, and give his views. He knows how policies affect him, his family, and his job. He has direct and effective power to control his government.

"This Administration aims to restore power to the average citizen. We will give back to the states and the local communities any functions which they can and should handle. When a problem must be handled on the national scale we will keep as close as possible to the average man who is affected by our actions. If a law must be written we will consult with those who will be subject to the law. In administering a law, we will ask the advice and assistance of individuals and organizations who are familiar with the field.

"Greek mythology tells us of the giant Antaeus, who drew his strength from the ground. He could not be beaten until an enemy held him above the ground and thus cut off his source of power. Government is like this giant. It draws its power and strength from the people. So long as it remains close to them it is healthy and vigorous. Once cut off from them it decays into tyranny.

"The Constitution says that our Federal Government exists to promote the general welfare. There is a difference between the general welfare and the welfare state. In the welfare state the government absorbs the citizens and private groups. It may smother them with honey, but nonetheless it smothers them. They are regulated from cradle to grave. In the general-welfare state the government is the servant of the citizen. It seeks to help, not control. It promotes rather than absorbs the free energies of labor, business and the farmer.

"We believe in the general-welfare state. We must have laws, regulations and controls. Absolute freedom is anarchy. But we do not seek laws and controls for their own sakes. Only when the general welfare of the common good of the nation demands

it should government step in and regulate the conduct or property of its citizens.

"Laws seek the common good of all, not the selfish interests of the few. An Administration which accepts this policy is loyal to the spirit of our Constitution. It is safeguarding and promoting the freedom of American citizens."

IX.

THE HUMAN ISSUES: NO PANACEAS

"Let us never make the mistake of failing to place proper emphasis on the humanities."

GROWING up in the Depression era, out of Quaker background, training and education, Richard Nixon might have been expected to take a socially minded view of domestic issues like health, education and welfare. Instead, on those issues, he has what is widely considered a generally conservative record. Asked about this in 1953, after he became Vice President, he explained: "I have been convinced by experience that the panaceas offered by the so-called 'liberals' to deal with these problems in the long run would do more harm than good in solving them. Consequently, I have felt that the best answer is to find the middle ground between reaction which either denies the existence of the problem or refuses to be concerned about it, and the easy approach of the demagogue who believes that state action is the best answer to all our social and economic ills."

Operating on that middle ground, he voted in the 81st Congress to expand the coverage and increase the benefits of the social security system, but he was by no means satisfied with

that system. Closing his 1950 campaign for the Senate, he said: "Our older citizens must receive assistance from the working generation. The present Social Security Act fails to meet this problem adequately. It does not cover at all many of our older citizens who were unable to earn their social security benefits and has forced them into the humiliating position of going on public relief rolls. . . . I say that we need an entirely new approach to the problem of old-age security. That is why I favor the establishment of a national pay-as-you-go pension system. The objective of this program will be not only to provide the maximum security that we can all afford to pay for, but also to eliminate the tremendous administrative cost of the present social security system."

He was for Federal slum-clearance programs, but he was against Federal housing projects. After the Federal program cleared the slums, he believed, the new construction should be put up by private enterprise. On veterans' benefits, a major issue when he first ran for Congress, he was against big bonus plans but in favor of helping veterans to regain whatever advantages they lost while they were in the service. Before a meeting of the Whittier Rotary Club, in February, 1946, just after he took off his Navy uniform, he said that "America can best fulfill its obligation to the G.I. by maintaining a form of economic government where an opportunity is given him to do his job. The secret of American success and hope for the future is to give the G.I. a government that allows him to perform the kind of job he has determined to do without restricting him by regimentation."

At a meeting of the Nixon-for-Congress War Veterans Committee in Whittier, in September, 1946, he said: "At the outset of the general election campaign, I want to make clear my position in regard to veteran legislation; it is based on the following premises, both of which I am thoroughly committed to:

first, that the veteran whose livelihood is impaired because of his battle wounds is entitled to the full protection of his government; second, that veterans generally are opposed to 'treasury raids'—that is, legislation which seeks to obtain advantages for the veterans which are not consistent with the best interests of the public as a whole." Before the California convention of American Veterans of World War II (AMVETS) in San Diego, on September 8, 1946: "I have observed that those who shout the loudest in favor of pork-barrel appropriation bills for veterans are officeholders and office seekers who are not themselves veterans of any war, and who seek such legislation in the face of direct opposition on the part of the veterans themselves. I have found that the great majority of veterans do not wish to be considered as a class apart from the general citizenry except in matters in which they are directly affected because of their absence in service, such as housing, jobs and education. Preference in such matters is the natural right of veterans and they must work tirelessly to secure them."

HEALTH

On the health issue, Nixon's stand was a classic example of his general position. "I grew up in a large family of modest means," he said during his campaign for the Senate in 1950. "I know that serious illness can place a tremendous strain upon the family budget. But I also know that America today has the highest standard of medical care in the whole world. How can we meet this problem of providing medical care for those who need it at a cost they can afford to pay without reducing the standard of medical care? My opponent advocates a national compulsory health insurance program which would be forced upon all the people of the country whether they liked it or not. This is the program which has been tried and found wanting in England. There, it has had the effect of reducing the stand-

ard of medical care. I say there is a better way—an American way—to meet this problem.

"For that reason, I have introduced in the House, and will support in the Senate, legislation which will provide Federal assistance to voluntary health insurance plans. Today fifty million people are covered by such plans. We need more of them. The Federal Government can be of assistance in encouraging them. I say that the kind of a health program we should have in the United States is one in which everybody who wants health insurance can get it, in which everybody who should have it is encouraged to get it, but in which no one is forced to join such a plan against his will. In other words the answer to this problem is through voluntary co-operation rather than through compulsory regimentation."

On this issue, as on a number of others, Nixon from time to time read a lecture to the people he believed were or should be on his side. He had some words of warning and of advice for the National Conference of State Medical Association Officials in Atlantic City, New Jersey, on June 10, 1951:

"I think that in complete candor we should recognize that the present system of distribution of medical care in the United States is not perfect. I don't say that in a critical fashion, because as I said at the outset, I am one of those who believe that we have the finest system of medical care in the world at the present time. Nevertheless, there are imperfections, I think most of us agree, which do exist. These imperfections, as long as they do exist, are the basis for the arguments which the proponents of government medicine constantly use to sell their programs. I feel that wherever possible, the medical profession should in the future take voluntary action which will reduce the imperfections, recognizing, of course, that there will never come a time when we will have a completely perfect system that will satisfy everybody.

"I am convinced that the medical profession has taken a very long step in the right direction with its recently announced program of subsidizing medical schools on a voluntary rather than on a government basis.

"I would suggest also that additional voluntary action is needed in two fields. One [is] the field of getting a better geographical distribution of medical care and hospital facilities throughout the country in areas in need. The second deals with the problem of encouraging wherever possible voluntary health insurance programs."

EDUCATION

The basic Nixon philosophy comes into play, also, in his stand on education. "I believe that education is primarily the responsibility of local and state governments," he said during his campaign for the Senate. "However, where local and state governments do not have sufficient taxable property to maintain adequate educational standards, I say that the Federal Government has a responsibility to assist the states in such cases. However, we must at all costs avoid any Federal control of our school systems. The minute the Federal Government controls the schools of the country, a mortal blow will be dealt the independence and strength that has characterized the finest school system in the world."

Five years later (November 28, 1955), before the White House Conference on Education, in a speech generally acclaimed by the conferees, Nixon maintained the same basic position: "Our objective in America is to provide an opportunity for every child, regardless of his background or what he intends to be, to have an education. While there is disagreement on the magnitude of the problem, there is general agreement on the fact that our available school facilities and the

number of our teachers are not keeping up with our increasing population. . . .

"There is an understandable tendency to measure progress in material terms—in the size and number of the buildings we erect rather than in terms of those who use them. No one questions the critical need for new classroom construction. It has been estimated that over the next ten years we must spend approximately thirty-one billion dollars for elementary and primary classrooms alone.

"But an even more critical need is that of getting and keeping qualified teachers. As President Pusey of Harvard said recently, 'Classrooms in which there are teachers with no exceptional gifts are places merely to keep young people, not to educate them.'

"At the present time, our problem is even more serious than that. We are rapidly reaching the time when we shall have classrooms with no teachers at all in them.

"The magnitude of the teacher shortage problem is indicated by one estimate that in the next ten years we shall need approximately 1,600,000 new teachers. At the present rate of training we will produce only eight hundred thousand teachers during that period.

"There is no easy solution to this problem but all of us will agree that inadequate teachers' salaries are a substantial part of the problem.

"We shall have to admit unfortunately that with few exceptions, the salaries paid to teachers in public and private schools in the United States from the college level down are nothing short of a national disgrace and if the situation is not corrected it could lead to a national disaster. . . .

"Now it is true, as some say, that a good teacher doesn't teach just for money, and at this point may I say that the eternal gratitude of all Americans should go to the million

dedicated men and women who are teaching in our schools—the great majority at salaries far less than they could earn in comparable professions. Theirs is truly a labor of love.

"But though it can be said that a teacher does not live to eat, he certainly has to eat to live. And if this conference could accomplish nothing more than to stir the conscience of the people of the United States to the desperate need of paying more adequate salaries to our teachers, it would be worth all of the time, the money and the effort that has been spent on it."

Then Nixon turned to the controversial question of Federal aid to education. "As the President said in his opening message to this conference," he said, "we believe that the primary responsibility for maintaining educational facilities should be local and state rather than Federal.

"But we also recognize that some local communities have insufficient resources to maintain adequate educational standards and that some means must be found to supplement those resources without impairing local control or stifling local initiative.

"The problem we confront is so great that we must tap all of our nation's resources to meet it.

"For example, in 1955, we spent more money in elementary and high school education than we have spent in any year in the nation's history—\$11,600,000,000. Four per cent of that amount came from the Federal Government, thirty per cent from the state governments, forty-nine per cent from local and county governments, and seventeen per cent from private sources. . . .

"Because of the great needs with which we are confronted, Federal aid will be and should be a subject for discussion at this conference.

"I think we should recognize at the outset that some addi-

tional Federal activity and responsibility is inevitable and necessary in the field of education.

"But we should have these caveats in mind.

"As the statistics I have just cited so eloquently illustrate, the primary source of funds for education is from local and state governments rather than the Federal Government. A Federalized program would not be adequate to do the job. Any Federal program which discourages or reduces the local or state contribution would be a tragic mistake. Whatever Federal activity is undertaken must be designed to encourage more local and state responsibility rather than less.

"And as we consider Federal aid, we must remember that we want our education to be free and that freedom and Federal control are incompatible.

"There is no greater power that a government could exercise over a people than to be able to dictate what the young should learn. Our whole Constitutional system is based on the principle that diffusion of power is the best answer to tyranny and the best guarantee of freedom.

"Thomas Jefferson stated the case against centralizing power when he said, 'What has destroyed liberty and the rights of man in every government which has ever existed under the sun? The generalizing and concentrating all cares and powers into one body, no matter whether of the autocrats of Russia or France, or of the aristocrats of a Venetian Senate.'

Turning to the question of what the schools should teach, Nixon granted that the need for scientists and engineers is so great that there must be more emphasis on technical and scientific learning. But he pointed out: "What young Americans learn in our schools also determines the quality of the statesmen whose function it is to keep the peace, the character of our religious and social leaders who help to set the moral and spiritual standards of the nation, the social consciousness of the

employers and labor leaders who are building the exciting new capitalism in which all Americans are becoming partners, and in general the level of intelligence and social responsibility of the millions of Americans who must make the decisions at the polls which will determine the nation's future.

"Let us, therefore, never make the mistake of failing to place proper emphasis on the humanities at a time when in order to insure our survival we must necessarily increase our emphasis on the technical subjects."

Then the Vice President made a point that caused some surprise among the educators at the conference, in view of his considerable (and sometimes distorted) reputation as a Red hunter. "As we consider the function of education," he said, "we must always have before us the most important principle of all—education to be great, must be free.

"This means studying and discussing ideas we don't like as well as those we do. In this connection, it has been unfortunate that at a time when we properly are denying Communist Party members the right to teach in our schools, we have a tendency to go to the extreme of denying to our students the opportunity of learning about Communism.

"The distinction is a very simple but vitally important one. Teaching students to be Communists is one thing. Teaching students about Communism is another. Even though the Communist idea is abhorrent to the great majority of the American people we must never forget that the best answer to a false idea is not ignorance but the truth."

This was by no means a new position for Nixon. As a freshman Congressman, in October, 1948, when he was building his reputation as an investigator of subversion, he shocked some of his friends by asserting: "We must teach Communism in our schools."

"Communism can be combated only by understanding," he

said. "Ignorance merely spreads it . . . That's why we need a broad-scale program for teaching the truth about Communism and what it does to people." He recommended that courses in Communism begin in lower grades in elementary school, continue through high school and college, and extend into adult-education classes. The courses, he said, should "expose Communism's effect on individual liberties, the church, labor, free press, voting." He admitted that such a program would have risks, but he argued that ignorance of Communism was even more dangerous. He also granted that providing textbooks and teachers would be a formidable task. "Most schools are afraid to tackle the job," he said. "They're afraid of being labeled 'Communist' themselves just for taking on such teaching."

Throughout his public career, Nixon has made this same kind of distinction in many cases involving the Communist issue. In 1949, he and other Republican members of the Un-American Activities Committee issued a public statement to disassociate themselves from a proposed investigation of school textbooks. They agreed that such an investigation was necessary, but contended that it should be made by a commission of educators. Their position was that "if such an investigation were conducted by a political body, it could be justifiably charged that the committee was proceeding down the same road which led the Nazis to the infamous book burnings in Germany." They recommended that the House committee "center its efforts on the . . . weeding out of Communists and Communist sympathizers in the political and economic fields, and in the Federal Government itself."

In August, 1953, when a controversy was raging about "book burning" in United States libraries overseas, Nixon again made the same kind of distinction. "We have heard a lot of talk about book burning during the past few months," he said. "A great editorial controversy has been raging on this

subject, and under the circumstances, I think it would be well to put some of the issues in perspective.

"The controversy began, as you will recall, over the books which are in the libraries of our foreign information service abroad. I think all of us agree that the taxpayers of the United States should not have to pay for the dissemination of Communist propaganda in special-purpose libraries set up abroad for the express purpose of presenting the American position in its best light.

"But there has unfortunately been a tendency for the controversy to spill over into a second field which should not be confused with the first. What about public libraries in the United States? Should they contain books advocating the Communist idea written by Marx, Lenin, Stalin and other Communist authors? . . .

"I think we will all agree that the American people should know more rather than less about the Communist idea. If we are going to combat the idea effectively it is necessary for us to read what the Communists and the fellow travelers write concerning that idea.

"We must all recognize that the right to advocate unpopular ideas is a part of our American tradition. On the other hand, we must distinguish participation in the Communist conspiracy from advocacy of the Communist idea. We should also recognize that as Americans we have the right and the duty both to expose the Communist idea for what it is and to advocate our own American idea in opposition to it.

"It is our belief that the best way to combat a fallacious idea is through exposure and not suppression. We are convinced that if the two great ideas which appeal to the people of the world today—Communism on one side, freedom and justice on the other—come together in the open market place of public discussion there cannot be any question as to the outcome."

CIVIL RIGHTS

On one of the most discussed human issues of his day, Richard Nixon has gone all the way with his Quaker forebears who left the South because they abhorred slavery. He has been a constant foe of racial discrimination.

His attitude appeared early in his political career. At the East Whittier Friends Church, on October 8, 1946, during his first campaign for Congress, he told a meeting of the Church Brotherhood:

"Let us always remember that we in America live under a form of government which recognizes that all men are born free and equal. We must be vigilant against the doctrines of the Bilbos and the Talmadges and the Gerald L. K. Smiths, who are just as dangerous to the preservation of the American way of life on the one hand as are the Communists on the other."

"There is grave danger facing our country today from those elements which seek to set class against class for the purpose of sowing dissent among all segments of the populace. Both on the right and on the left, these groups are thoroughly un-American and deserving of no consideration from decent Americans. I see no choice between those who would persecute minorities and those who attempt to make political capital out of the troubles which beset minorities."

Four years later, in his campaign for the Senate, he used a new example to make his point. "The Korean War," he said, "should bring home again to all of us a great and simple truth —that the strength of America in the past and at the present has been created by people of all races, creeds and colors. The men who fought and died in Korea were not selected on the basis of their race, their color or their creed. Their only qualification was that they were Americans. It is for that reason that we must rededicate ourselves to the task of combating at every

point those elements in our nation who would create race, class and religious hatred.

"In my service on the Committee on Un-American Activities during the past four years, there have been occasions when attempts were made to inject a racial or religious issue into our investigations of Communist activities. . . . I know that the Communists in this country come from no particular group, race or creed. To make this claim is to weaken the united front which we must develop against our common enemy. Every time there is an instance of discrimination in the United States, it gives the Communists a weapon which they can use against us. This is a problem which cannot be solved by law alone. It is a problem which must be met primarily through co-operative effort by men of good will."

As Vice President, Nixon played a leading role in the Eisenhower Administration's antidiscrimination programs. He is the very active chairman of a Presidential committee on government contracts, whose long-range objective is to eliminate discrimination by all government contractors. At the annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at Atlantic City, on June 26, 1955, he listed, with considerable pride, some of the committee's accomplishments:

"1. A Federal Reserve Bank in Chicago has agreed to employ Negroes for the first time.

"2. A large public utility in St. Louis has advised that its company offices will be integrated.

"3. A large chemical company in St. Louis has completely revised its employment practices so that Negroes are now employed in many jobs, as opposed to the former practice of hiring Negroes only for janitorial work.

"4. A large packing company in Omaha, Nebraska, has begun to hire Negro clerical and white-collar workers.

"5. A manufacturer of precision production tools in Cleveland, Ohio, is now employing Negroes in the production line for the first time.

"6. A large manufacturer of component parts for jet aircraft in Kansas now employs Negroes in the production line.

"7. A large government activity in the South has increased its employment of Negroes fourfold and has opened job opportunities in higher job levels than previously.

"8. A way to sum up what has happened is this—in scores of companies throughout the country a laborer can now become a welder; a janitor can now become a machinist; a hod carrier can now become a bricklayer; a maintenance man can now become a mechanic; a mechanic or a machinist can now become a foreman. And this is true of any employee—regardless of his race, creed or color.

"In the field of government employment, over two hundred appointments have been made ranging from auditors-in-charge to a sub-Cabinet position. . . . At the White House, Negroes have access to the President through personal contact in both his office and his home on the same basis as other citizens. The most eloquent proof of how things have changed is that it is no longer news when Negroes are invited to lunch or dinner at the White House with the President."

At a joint appeal dinner of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League, in New York City, on September 14, 1955, the Vice President discussed in broader terms the accomplishments and aims of the Administration's attack on discrimination. "In the past three years," he said, "greater progress has been made toward the objective of providing equality of opportunity for all Americans, regardless of race, creed or color, than in any similar period since 1865.

"In the field of employment, thousands of new job oppor-

tunities in industry and government have opened up for Negroes.

"Segregation in the Armed Services has ended.

"Segregation in the Veterans hospitals has been ended.

"A winning campaign has been launched to end segregation in the District of Columbia.

"The legal groundwork has been laid and significant progress made toward accomplishing what in the long run is the most important objective of all—the integration of the public school system. . . .

"These are some objectives toward which we should work in the years ahead.

"1. Equality of opportunity for employment with particular emphasis on more adequate training programs so that all Americans can qualify for job opportunities on the basis of merit.

"2. The removal of the last vestige of discrimination in the District of Columbia so that we can hold up our nation's capital proudly to all the world as an example of an American city at its best in every sense of the word.

"3. Most important of all, completion of the integration of the public school systems. Reaching this objective will not only provide true equality of opportunity for education, but it is the most effective way to eliminate prejudices which otherwise might continue to exist between Americans of different backgrounds.

"4. Refugee Act amendments recommended by the President should be passed. It is particularly essential that the Congress change the law to make it possible for agencies rather than individuals to serve as sponsors.

"5. The review of national immigration policy recommended by the President should be undertaken.

"Great emphasis has been placed on the theme that all

Americans should join the fight against discrimination and prejudice primarily by reason of the fact that we thereby help the minority groups involved. I believe that we should place equal emphasis on another concept. All Americans lose when some Americans are not allowed to make their full contribution to the nation's cultural and economic progress. . . .

"We, of course, should work for equal opportunity because of our desire to do justice to the Negroes, but we should remember that when such opportunity is provided it is the nation's gain as well as theirs.

"In the field of foreign policy, I can testify that there is nothing which impairs the position of the United States as a leader of the free world more than evidence of discrimination and prejudice which are advertised all over the world when they occur in this country. We can render no greater service to the cause of peace—to which America's world leadership is dedicated—than to make the dream of equality of opportunity a living reality for all Americans."

At the dedication of the National Shrine for the Jewish Dead, on May 22, 1955, Nixon placed his point of view in still broader perspective:

"You can give a lot of reasons if you ask different people why America has progressed as it has. I know some will say that America has become great because it has had great natural resources. That is part of the reason, but not all, because other nations have had resources as great as ours and they have not progressed as we have in that period of time.

"Then there are others who will give the answer that America has become great because we Americans have been and are a great people; but who are the American people? This is no master race. Americans came from all the continents, from all the countries of the world. All races, all creeds, all religions are here. It is inscribed in the immortal words of Emma Laza-

rus on the Statue of Liberty: ‘Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free.’ And so they came to America and, in the climate of freedom that men and women found here, their energies were released and they made contributions to progress greater than men and women had ever made to a civilization in the history of mankind.

“And so, as we analyze America’s greatness and the reasons for it, I think that we are a great nation because we have recognized that if we have respect for our differences and if we have common beliefs in great principles of freedom, equality, and justice for all, we can transcend those differences, we can thereby create a united people whose power will be as great or greater than any people on the face of the earth. That is the American’s creed. It is what America stands for. It has been and today is the hope of the world.”

X.

FARM AND LABOR

"Our agricultural economy is basically sound."

"Our slogan must be free enterprise and free labor."

IN his first three years as Vice President of the United States, Richard Nixon was often called in, somewhat like a relief pitcher, to see what he could do about a game that seemed to be going against the Administration. Two of his most notable relief assignments came in connection with two economic issues that gave the Eisenhower Administration intermittent trouble: farm policy and labor policy. Shortly after labor leader Martin Durkin angrily resigned as Secretary of Labor in 1953, Nixon stepped before a cold-eyed American Federation of Labor convention in St. Louis to state the Administration's case. In the early fall of 1955, when falling farm prices were causing uneasiness and anger in the farm country, he flew to the National Plowing Contest at Wabash, Indiana, to soothe the farmer's nerves. In both cases he spoke for the Administration, but in both cases he was also speaking for Richard Nixon. For the farm and labor policies of the Eisenhower Administration were, in general, the farm and labor policies he had believed in and worked for before 1952.

In 1950, campaigning for the U. S. Senate, Nixon left no doubt that he was against the Democratic Administration's Brannan Plan. "First, I say we should put our parity-prices program on a sliding-scale basis as recommended by the Farm Bureau Federation and other national farm organizations," he said. "In this way crop surpluses can be controlled and funds will be available to support crops not presently covered which need assistance. Second, rather than increasing the amount of control from Washington over the farmers, I favor placing as much responsibility as possible upon the farmers at the local level."

At Wabash, Indiana, in 1955, he applied his analytical talent to the farm situation and reduced it to basic points:

"On the one extreme, the farmer is being told that he is in a depression as bad as that of the 1930's. On the other extreme, there are those who say the farmer is doing as well as he is entitled to expect. And there are some who suggest that while the farmer may not be as well off as he might be, nothing can be done about his plight, and all he can do is to grin and bear it. . . .

"We believe that you can't have a sound national prosperity unless it is based on a sound and prosperous agricultural economy. We do not believe that America's farmers are getting their fair share of America's unprecedented prosperity. We shall continue to explore every possible program which will remedy the inequity that exists.

"Now let us see what the problems are and what is being done under present programs to solve them.

"First, what is the financial condition of America's farmers today? There are several standards which can be applied. There is the parity ratio. Parity reached its high point during the Korean War in 1951 at 113. When the Eisenhower Administration came to Washington in January, 1953, it had dropped

to 94. Today it stands at 84. That parity is not a true indication of the financial well-being of the farmer is illustrated by the fact that in 1937 the parity ratio was 93, and certainly no one would contend that the farmer was better off in 1937 than he is now.

"A truer measure of the farmer's financial condition is his per capita net income. Parity indicates the prices the farmer is receiving for his products. Per capita income is determined by multiplying prices times volume of sales and subtracting costs. In 1951, per capita income was \$970. In 1953, it was \$904. In 1954, it was \$907. When we consider the fact that per capita income was \$244 in 1939, it is somewhat ridiculous to claim that the farmer is as bad off now as he was before World War II.

"A third measure of the farmer's financial well-being is the value of his assets. The value of land and equipment owned by farmers in 1955 was 163.5 billion dollars. This was 2 per cent higher than 1954, and only a very little less than the all-time high record reached in 1952 during the Korean War. The average equity of a farm family in America—their assets less their liabilities—is \$22,000. This is \$5,000 more than the average net worth of non-farm families."

Having completed the delicate process of telling the farmers that they were better off than they were generally said to be, Nixon faced squarely the most troublesome statistic of all:

"But there is another figure which must be taken into account in drawing a true picture of the economic condition of the nation's farmers. Prices received by farmers for their products have gone down 13 per cent since January '53. The prices paid by farmers for their supplies went down only 2 per cent in the same period.

"What do these various statistics add up to? These conclusions seem reasonable:

"There is no farm depression in the United States.

"Our agricultural economy is basically sound.

"But farmers are undeniably caught in a squeeze. The prices of the things they sell have gone down faster than the prices of the things they buy. . . ."

Nixon then turned to what had caused the trouble, and what had been done to relieve the symptoms:

"Let's lay one mistaken theory to rest right away. The new flexible parity law cannot by any stretch of imagination be held responsible for the drop in prices. Almost two-thirds of the drop took place before the Eisenhower Administration took over in 1953. The new law did not go into effect until this year. The five basic crops supported by parity constitute only one-fifth of total farm production in the United States. And the new parity formula has been applied to only one of these commodities, this year's wheat crop.

"The cause of the drop in prices is not the law but the market. Eight and one-half billion dollars' worth of surplus farm commodities hang over the market. The price has inevitably been forced down. Where did this surplus come from? There are two basic causes:

"The abnormal production caused by the war.

"The rigid parity formula percentages of the previous law which guaranteed the producer a price even if there was no sale for his products.

"Therefore, if we want to get at the cause of lower prices we must find a way to reduce the surplus. The problem is two-fold. One of the causes is too much production. The other is too little consumption. Our program therefore attacks the problem on these two fronts:

"On the production front, a new flexible parity formula has been adopted so that farmers will not be encouraged to grow crops already in surplus.

"On the consumption front, we are finding new markets for farm products.

"Let's face it—for years those who had the responsibility for dealing with the farm problem buried their heads in the sand. They refused to face up to the issue. They said in effect, 'Let the Government buy the products. Someone else can worry about the surplus.'

"We decided that it was essential to develop an effective program to increase consumption of farm products as well as to reduce the production of crops in surplus. Under the plentiful food program of the Department of Agriculture, we have increased consumption at home. Today the American people are eating more beef, eggs, chicken and turkey than ever before in history.

"And we have begun to do something that should have been done long ago—to find new markets for America's farm products abroad. The success of our efforts in this direction is indicated by the fact that under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act passed in the 83rd Eisenhower Congress one-half billion dollars' worth of farm products has been sold abroad that would not have been sold otherwise. And in two years, we expect this figure to go over one billion dollars. Our exports for the first ten months of fiscal year '55 are 9 per cent over a similar period last year. . . ."

At that stage of the game, the Eisenhower Administration's soil bank plan—which met with widespread approval some months later—was not well-enough formed to discuss publicly. So Nixon had to outline future policy in more general terms.

"What else can we do to assure that the farmer gets his fair share of America's increased prosperity? We believe research should be expanded, working toward these objectives:

"Lower costs of production.

"More efficient distribution.

"More uses for farm products.

"Here again we found that the previous programs had not been adequate. From 1951 to 1953 there was no increase whatever in funds for research. In 1954 we increased the amounts for agricultural research by 2.6 million. The 1955 figure was 12.3 million over the 1954 figure, and the 1956 figure will be 8 million over 1955. . . .

"Here then is this Administration's long-range program for agriculture:

"A flexible parity system aimed at keeping surpluses under control.

"A bold, imaginative program aimed at developing new markets at home and abroad.

"Increased research to reduce costs of production and distribution and increased uses of farm products.

"Continued soil conservation, R.E.A., and other programs designed to protect the value of the farmer's investment and improve his living conditions.

"A program of rural development, to aid the marginal farmer.

"This program has as its aim:

"Full parity in the market place for farm products.

"Maximum freedom for the farmer from government controls.

"An ever-increasing standard of living for farmers and the American people.

"We think this program is basically sound. We think it will work. We believe in it.

"But we also realize that because of our huge inherited surpluses the achievement of our goals will in some instances take time. . . . I can tell you that several proposals which would supplement our basic program are under consideration today

in the Department of Agriculture. . . . I pledge to you the dedicated support of the President, the Secretary of Agriculture, and every man and woman in this Administration of programs to provide for the American farmer . . . his fair and full share of that prosperity in a world at peace."

When the Vice President had finished, the farmers were not necessarily satisfied, but they had reason to feel better than they had before he started.

The public record of Richard Nixon's viewpoint on labor policy goes back to his first campaign for Congress in 1946. It was a time of unprecedented labor-management strife. In a campaign speech at El Monte, California, in 1946 he advocated "a new national labor policy which will be based upon the fundamental principle that no leader of labor or management should have the uncontrolled power to deny the American people the necessities of life.

"This policy should insure to the members of all labor unions certain rights which are recognized today only by some unions. Union members should be entitled to receive regular reports from their officers covering the disposition of union funds. Provision should be made for democratic annual election of officers so that the leaders of unions will be responsible to their members for the conduct of the union's business.

"Provision should be made for the arbitration of disputes between unions. This will eliminate those strikes which do not involve disputes over hours and wages, but which are called simply because one group of union leaders is engaged in a struggle for power with another group of union leaders.

"Mediation machinery should be set up which will go into action before strikes are called, and the best offer made as a result of such mediation proceedings should be submitted to the rank and file members of the union by secret ballot so that

they can make a democratic determination as to whether they desire to strike.

"We must recognize that the man who suffers most from strikes is not the consumer or employer, but the worker himself. He can least afford to be without pay over long periods of time. Consequently, the adoption of a labor-management program designed to promote peaceful settlement of industrial disputes will be in the best interests of the union members as well as the employers and the consumers."

As a member of the House Labor Committee, Nixon helped to draft the Taft-Hartley Act. Although he had some general reservations about the bill as it finally passed, he made one of the strongest speeches for it during the debate in the House in April, 1947. After listening to two days of argument, he rose to have his own say:

"I have been jotting down some of the things that have been said. I should like to summarize them at this time, so that we can find out what the real issues of this debate are.

"It has been termed 'the scab labor bill,' 'the kill union bill,' 'the death warrant for labor,' 'a vicious monstrosity,' 'the bill which will bring back the sweatshop and the yellow-dog contract,' a bill which, on the one hand, is 'a long step forward on the road to fascism,' and on the other hand, 'a bill which would drive the union labor movement into Communism.' It is 'a bill which was rushed through without sufficient time.' It is 'a bill which was written in smoke-filled rooms by corporation lawyers and not by the members of Congress.' . . . That is typical of the kind of attack that has been made on this bill today. I think it is fundamental as we close this debate that we get down to the issues that are really involved. Let us remember that the issue in this debate and the issue that we are going to decide when we vote on this bill is not an issue of management against labor; it is not an issue of the public

against labor; it is not an issue of the Republican Party against labor, as has been suggested, and I would go so far as to say that the issue is not that of the Republicans against the Democrats, because on both sides of this aisle we are going to have, I believe, substantial support for the provisions of this measure.

"The issue on this particular legislation, I submit to you, is that this Congress must recognize that it is time to enact a labor bill which is not class legislation, but which is in the best interests of all people of America.

"So, what have we done? We have submitted for your approval a bill which recognizes the rights of the public and the consumer, the rights and responsibilities of employers, the rights of union leaders, and the responsibility of union leaders both to the public and to the workers they represent. What is most important is that this bill recognizes and protects the fundamental rights of the 60,000,000 people in America who work for a living and in whose interest every piece of legislation which passes this House must be written.

"Why was this bill introduced? The suggestion has been made that it was introduced because a few greedy monopolists in the National Association of Manufacturers and Chambers of Commerce decided that they wanted more money and, therefore, ordered a bill which would allow them to wring the last dollar out of the laboring men of this country.

"But what are the facts? When this Congress convened in January of this year it looked back on a record of labor-management strife about which the people of this country had declared something must be done. We know that in the year after V-J Day we had lost \$6,000,000,000 in the standard of living in America, due to industrial strife. We had seen unprecedented force and violence in labor disputes throughout the country. We had seen abuses by labor leaders, abuses which many good labor leaders decried and about which they said

something should be done. We had seen, as well, in the labor-management field how a few persons, irresponsible leaders of labor, could paralyze the entire country by ordering a strike by the stroke of a pen. That was the situation with which we were confronted when this session opened. That is why the Labor Committee has had these expensive hearings. That is why the committee has brought before you a bill which is all-inclusive, which goes to the root of the evils which have arisen and which recognizes and protects the interests of all the people of America. . . . It is the responsibility of this Congress to pass a bill which will give the American people the protection they need from industrial strife.

"It has been said that we have drawn a bill which recognizes and protects the rights of the public, but that in doing so we are destroying the rights of labor and turning back the clock of labor reform a hundred years. I think it is well for us to bear in mind who are making those charges. Are the workers of this country, the members of the unions, objecting to this bill? Or are the objections coming only from a few entrenched leaders of union labor who fear that their unrestrained power over the workers of America will be curtailed? . . .

"The workers of America have a great stake in the passage of this bill. It has been said that the public suffers from strikes; it has been said that management suffers from strikes: but we must remember that the man who suffers most, the man who has the greatest stake in industrial peace, is not the public, not management, but it is the man who has to go out on strike.

"I submit to this House that the man who goes out on strike and who serves to lose most by going out should make the determination as to whether he should go out.

"So we have provided that that decision to strike will be made, not in the sumptuous quarters of a labor baron in the Carlton Hotel; not in some smoke-filled room, as the gentle-

men have seen fit to describe it, where labor leaders get together and, by the stroke of a pen, decide the fate of millions of workers, but by a secret ballot by a majority of all employees in the plant affected.

"In the year 1215 King John at Runnymede granted sovereign power to the barons of England. Centuries later a bill of rights was granted to the individual citizens of England, protecting them against the irresponsible power of their rulers. In 1935 the New Deal Congress enacted the National Labor Relations Act which granted unrestrained sovereign power over the workers of America to the barons of union labor. Now, I submit it is the responsibility and the opportunity of this Congress to grant to American workers their bill of rights."

With that "bill of rights" accomplished, Nixon was ready to give labor leadership important new roles. In his newsletter to his home district, *Under the Capitol Dome*, published in the papers in his district on March 31, 1948, he wrote:

"With final Congressional action on the European Recovery Program slated to be taken this week, the American people will next be watching closely the development of administrative policies to be established by those who will be charged with E.R.P. authority. When we remember that the primary purpose of our aid program is to stop the spread of Communism in Europe by winning confidence in America, it seems to me that it is essential for the E.R.P. administration to provide important labor participation in the program. Such provisions will prove a most effective answer to the Communist propaganda line that E.R.P. is a plan by which 'big business' in America is attempting to dominate the free peoples of Europe. This, of course, is not the case. Labor organizations are in the front ranks of those who are supporting the program. But, in order to answer that charge with the greatest effect, I believe that labor should have representation on the Board of Direc-

tors of the E.R.P. administration and that our propaganda offensive in Europe should have the advice and assistance of real American trade-union leaders. To put it shortly . . . I believe that our slogan in Europe must not be simply 'free enterprise,' but that it must be 'free enterprise and free labor.' . . . Such evidence of American unity will have a tremendous psychological effect upon those whom we propose to aid."

Whenever he had the opportunity, Congressman Nixon was quite ready to read management a lecture on its policy toward labor. "There are ominous signs today of development of two opposing classes in the United States, with management on one side and labor on the other," he told a convention of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association of California on April 19, 1949. "If this trend continues it cannot help but end tragically for all parties concerned. The trend can be halted only by constructive action by both labor and management. Management has a particular responsibility and should not close its eyes to that responsibility. Among the principles which management should follow are:

"1. A sane, middle-of-the-road approach to labor-management legislation. Management has been quick to point out the faults of labor, it should be just as quick to recognize its own faults and to take remedial action to correct them.

"2. Education of the public as to management's contribution to the general welfare and as to the merits of the capitalistic system.

"3. Give labor a stake in business through profit-sharing plans and similar devices. The free enterprise system cannot survive unless labor, as well as management, has a definite interest in creating wealth and profits.

"4. Take all steps possible to avoid depression and to find constructive solutions to our difficult social and economic problems. For example, there would not be nearly the agitation for

fair employment practices legislation if enlightened representatives of management were to voluntarily take action in their own organizations to solve the problems."

While in the House, Nixon voted to raise the minimum wage from forty-five to seventy-five cents an hour, and wholeheartedly supported the Wood bill to amend the Taft-Hartley Law. The Wood bill would have made nineteen significant changes in the existing law, including recognition of the union hiring hall and of state laws legalizing the closed shop. In a speech on the floor of the House on May 11, 1949, Nixon charged that supposedly pro-labor members of the Congress had sabotaged the bill.

"There is no question but that through adoption of the Wood bill some needed and salutary changes in the existing law would have been made," he said, "changes which have been requested by, and would be in the interests of, organized labor. A vote for the Wood bill was a vote to make those changes at the earliest possible moment. Responsibility for the delay in making the changes must be assumed by those Administration spokesmen and labor leaders who apparently are more interested in obtaining political advantage than in writing a law which is in the interests of all parties concerned and particularly in the interests of organized labor. The changes which the Wood bill would have made in the existing law are necessary and should be written into law at the earliest possible date."

When Nixon stepped before the unfriendly American Federation of Labor convention in St. Louis in September, 1955, he felt that he and the delegates had a good many beliefs and aims in common, but he was quite sure that they did not think so.

"I want a government, and I want a country, in which this organization and the other organizations which are representa-

tive of the free labor movement as we know it in America can continue to be healthy and strong and progressive," he began.

"Now, I can imagine that some of you will lift your eyes at that statement and will say, 'Well, how do you square that statement with some of the things that we have heard about you? We understand that you, Mr. Nixon, are one who voted in the Congress for the Taft-Hartley Act, and our organization for the most part has been opposed to that act. We understand also that in your political campaigns for the most part our organization has generally supported your opponent rather than you. Why then and how do you make the statement that you have just made?'

"So at this point, may I, for just a moment during this great convention present a point of view which may not be the same as yours, but a point of view which starts with the same basic assumption that you begin with and which has the same objectives that I am sure your organization has.

"First, let me tell you why I believe in the free labor movement in America and in the American Federation of Labor. A man's background affects his beliefs—all of you know that—and like most Americans, probably like most of you, mine, of course, as is the President's, is a background of a working family. My father at various times while I was growing up was a streetcar motorman, a carpenter, an oil-field worker, and he was a pretty amateur plumber, too, and I might say that in addition to that he was a small country grocer. Those of you who know anything about that business will know that that is also a working position. And the problems that you have during the time that you are growing up as a member of a working family are the ones that stay with you all of your life. They are the ones that are of real concern to you, regardless of what position you may eventually attain. . . ."

Having reported where he came from, the Vice President of the United States set out to describe where he stood and what he was doing there.

"I know, incidentally," he said, "that there have been charges which have been made in the past and will probably be made in the future to the effect that this Administration is a captive of the so-called special interests. And now let me state some political truths—and I speak now as one who is qualified, I think, to speak as a political observer. What counts in the final analysis of government isn't the theory, but what counts is the effect of a legislative program, what it does to people, is it good for them, is it bad for them?"

"Let me state a second truth: If at the conclusion of this Administration's first four years in office the American people conclude it has served the greedy few, as the term has been used, to the detriment of the many, this Administration will lose the next election, and it will deserve to lose."

"Now, I will state the counterpart of that proposition, and it is the reverse of it: No Administration will win an election in the United States or will deserve to win unless its program benefits sixty million people who work for a living in this country—and I think you will agree with that."

"And then I will state a third proposition. What are the interests of the sixty million people who work for a living? What are the interests of the American people? Some of you say, 'Well, what counts is the Taft-Hartley Law, what counts is the tax bill, what counts is fiscal policy.' All of those things count, but they count only as they affect the well-being of sixty million."

"What really counts? What really counts are these factors, and it was well summed up many, many years ago. What does the average American family want? Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Life and liberty are very important these

days, because we want security from attack from abroad and from within as well. We want liberty, protection of our civil liberties and the other liberties that we enjoy as Americans.

"The pursuit of happiness—what does that mean? It means a job, it means wages, it means take-home pay, it means security so that you can plan for the future. It means the right to join organizations which can work for all of these other factors for Americans.

"So let me now state a fourth proposition, and I believe this Administration will stand on this proposition, and, in my opinion—and, of course, I speak as a prejudiced observer in this respect—I believe this Administration would win on this proposition.

"I say that at the conclusion of our four years in office we will have adopted a program which will have brought to the American people, during that four years, protection for their lives and for their liberties. . . . I say we should be able to go before the people and present to them the facts which will prove to the people that they have had higher wages and more security than they have ever had previously under previous Administrations. You, for example, ask the question, why are we so interested in cutting government expenses in Washington? Our interest is not in simply reducing government expense in Washington, but every time we spend one dollar less in Washington it is one dollar more in the pocket of the man who works.

"Why do we need to balance the budget in Washington? I will tell you why. My father bought a six-thousand-dollar insurance policy many years ago, and I remember how he used to scrape to pay the premium. A six-thousand-dollar policy today is now worth less than half the money it was worth when he bought it. I think the government broke faith with him and with millions of others who made that contribution, and I be-

lieve that the millions of people who work for a living in America today will have an Administration that will protect their security, so that the contributions they make to the pension funds and to their social security will be worth the real dollars, rather than half dollars. That is what we stand for and that is what we are going to continue to do in the years ahead.

"To sum it up, what I mean to say is this: That this Administration may differ with you on specific legislative programs. That is our right, and it is your right to differ with us. We may differ with you on the Taft-Hartley Act, we may differ with you on the tax policy, we may differ with you on the fiscal policy, but in the final analysis we are . . . attempting to develop a program which . . . will prove to the man and the woman who works for a living in America that he has had life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness guaranteed him by this Administration more effectively than ever before in his life."

When he reached the difficult point of talking specifically about Martin Durkin's resignation, Nixon went directly to Durkin's charge that the White House had broken its word on proposed changes in the Taft-Hartley Law.

"I do believe that I am qualified to make a statement regarding the controversy which has developed," he said, "and that statement is this: I know Martin Durkin, and I also know the President of the United States, and I consider them both to be honorable men. There may have been and apparently there was a misunderstanding . . . but in forty years of service to his country, in the glare of publicity that men in public life must submit themselves to, Dwight Eisenhower has never been guilty of breaking his solemnly given word on anything, and I don't believe that anyone can claim that he broke his word in this instance. That is what I believe. I do not believe any implication should be left in this record of the American Federation of Labor that that was the case. Misunderstanding, yes,

but here is a man, believe me, a man of great character, a man of good faith."

By the fall of 1955, Vice President Nixon obviously felt that the Eisenhower Administration was delivering the benefits to the working man upon which he had staked its reputation before the American Federation of Labor. At an Indiana Republican dinner in Indianapolis on September 17, 1955, he made a prediction:

"I predict that in 1956 we will get an even greater percentage of union-labor votes than in 1952. In spite of the attacks of some union leaders on the President, the workers know from the size of their pay checks that Truman's 'Never-Had-It-So-Good '48' isn't in the same league with Eisenhower's 'Best-Ever '56.' The leaders can rave and rant all they want about this Administration not being for the working man. Results count. American workers today have more jobs, less strikes, higher wages, and greater purchasing power than at any time in history, and they have peace."

The United States and the World

XI.

FOREIGN POLICY

"The guiding principle is peace without surrender."

DURING his first year in Congress, Richard Nixon took a firm stand as an internationalist, and he has never abandoned that position. He has favored strong alliances between the United States and other free nations, an effective Good Neighbor policy, a powerful defense force for America and the free world, economic and military aid to non-Communist nations, and more and freer world trade. Surrounding and controlling his total view of foreign policy has been a characteristic basic principle: At all times, in setting policies of defense, aid and trade, the United States must never take steps that would weaken its domestic economy.

At the Veterans of Foreign Wars' national encampment in Philadelphia on August 2, 1954, he summarized his view in three points:

"1. Maintain our military strength at a sufficient level so that the Communists will be deterred from beginning an aggressive war.

"2. Enter into mutual defense treaties with our allies so that we can deter overt aggression by the Communists against

nations which individually have the will but lack the strength to resist such aggression but who can resist aggression provided they have assistance from other nations.

"3. Provide military and economic assistance to the weaker nations so that they can be strong enough to resist aggression from abroad and deal more effectively with internal subversion from within."

In somewhat broader terms, he outlined the same point of view before the American Association of School Administrators at Cleveland, Ohio, on April 3, 1955:

"The guiding principle of our policy is peace without surrender. History shows that in dealing with dictators, a policy of weakness and concessions may bring a temporary truce in the short run. But in the long run such a policy leads to war.

"We believe this is the policy which has the best chance to bring peace without surrender:

"Militarily and economically—Keep the United States and the free world stronger than any potential aggressors.

"Diplomatically—On the one hand, firmness in which our will and determination to use our strength against aggression when it occurs is made clear to the world; on the other hand, fairness and friendship in which we emphasize (1) our readiness to join with other nations in converting the power of the atom to peaceful uses, (2) our willingness to participate in big-power conferences when conditions are such that there would be a chance to reduce world tensions, (3) our desire to explore every means of reducing the level of armaments. . . ."

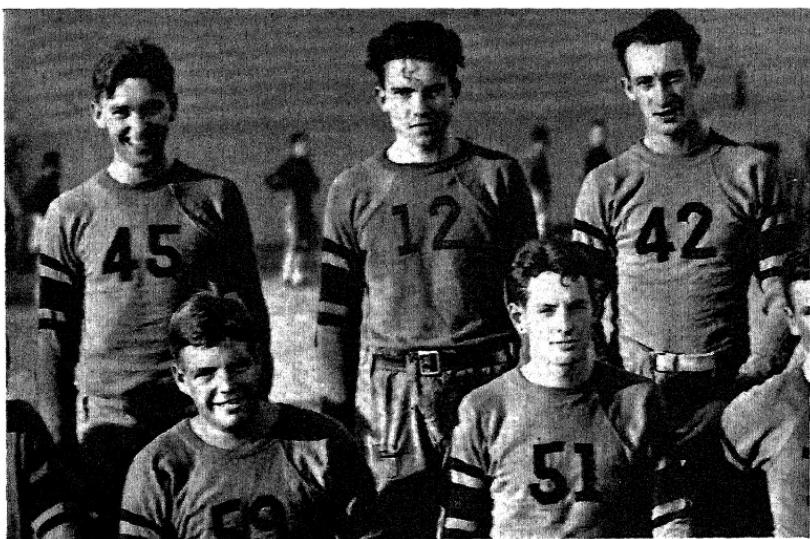
Of course, this was the Eisenhower foreign policy which the Vice President was expounding. But his own record and utterances through the years show that he did not have to twist his way into that policy.



Almira Milhous, Richard Nixon's maternal grandmother, whose counsel had a profound effect on his formative years.



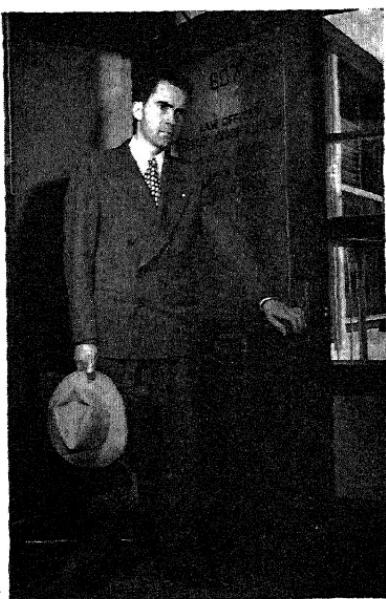
The Boy Nixon: at left, at age 4; above, Frank and Hannah Nixon with the first three of their five sons (Richard is at right).



Tackle Nixon, who had "a good seat on the fifty-yard line," with the Whittier College team.



Navy Officer Nixon, who saw General Eisenhower 30 stories below.

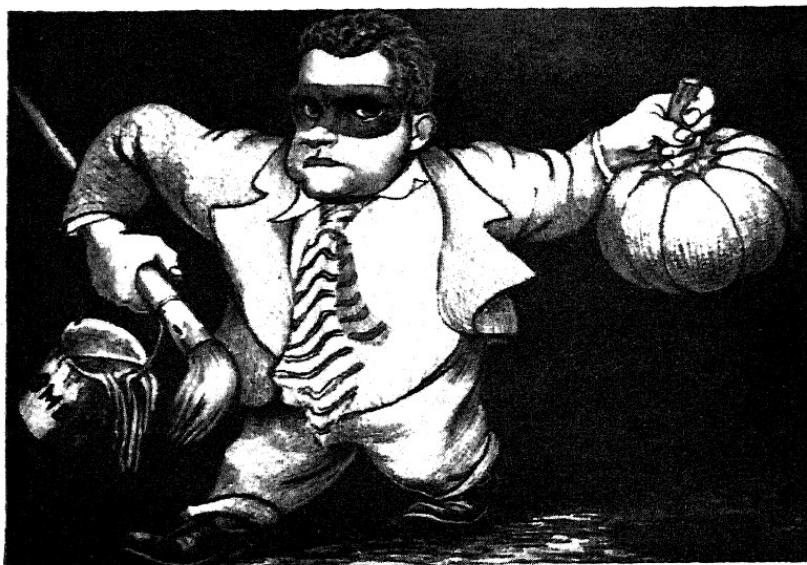


Courtesy LIFE Magazine © TIME, Inc.
Lawyer Nixon, out of the military service and running for Congress, in 1946.



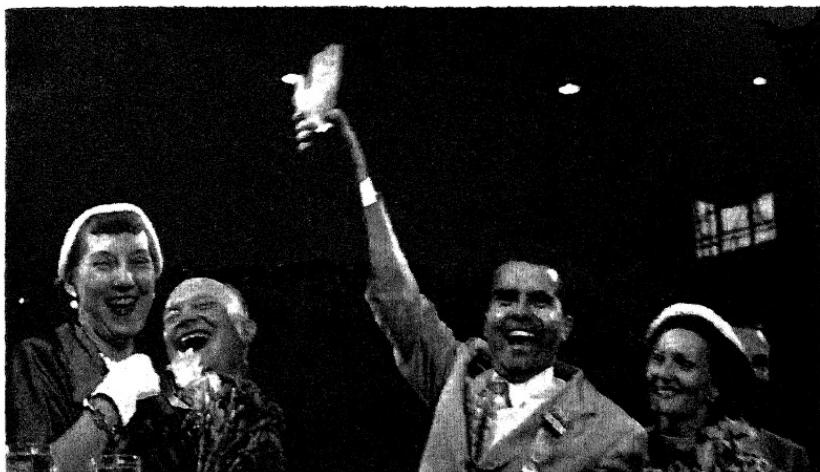
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U.S. Representative Nixon, member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, with Committee Investigator Robert Stripling, examining microfilm evidence in the Hiss case, in 1948.



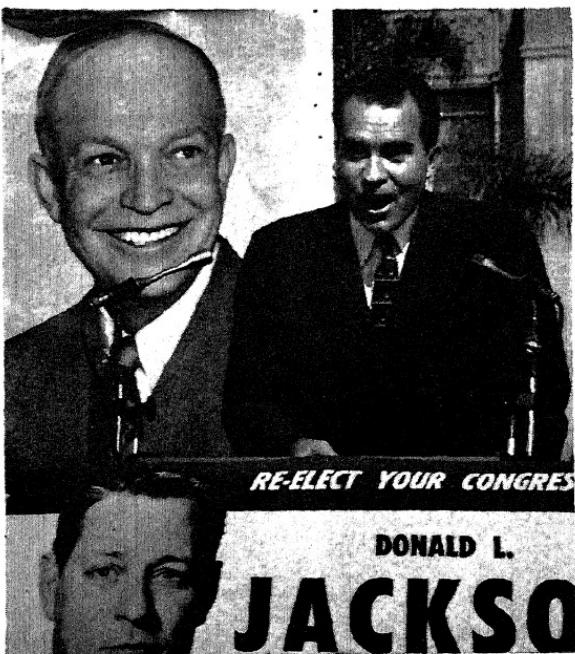
Associated Press Photo

Victor Arnautoff's bitter caricature, "Dick McSmear." Vice President Nixon defended the artist's right to express an opinion in this way and to display the work in a public exhibition.



Courtesy LIFE Magazine © TIME, Inc.

The Nixons and the Eisenhowers on the platform at the Republican National Convention in Chicago in 1952.



Courtesy Jack Birns

Campaigner Nixon at work in California during the 1954 Congressional election battle.



Courtesy LIFE Magazine © TIME, Inc.

Vice Presidential Candidate Nixon, defending his record in his famous 1952 television speech on the Nixon "fund."



The Nixon girls, Julie and Tricia, in 1952, with another widely known member of the family.



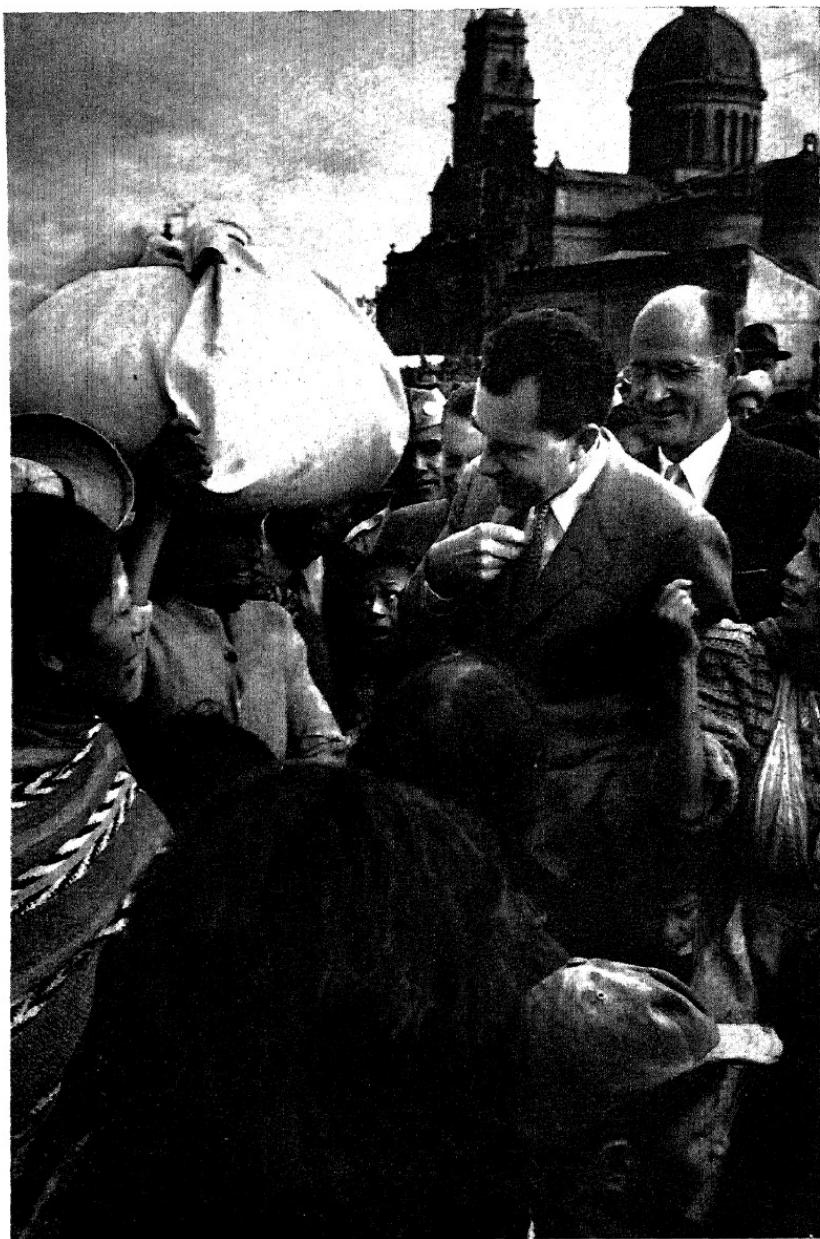
Wide World Photos, Inc.

Three generations of Nixons—Frank and Hannah, Dick and Pat, Tricia and Julie—at Los Angeles during the 1952 campaign.



Courtesy LIFE Magazine © TIME, Inc.

Vice President Nixon welcoming V. K. Krishna Menon, during the Indian diplomat's visit to Washington in 1955.



Courtesy LIFE Magazine © TIME, Inc.

Traveling Ambassador Nixon, talking to a woman in the market place at Antigua, Guatemala, during his tour of the Caribbean area in 1955.

FOREIGN AID

Nixon's first contact with United States foreign policy at first hand came in 1947, when he went to Europe with the Herter Committee to study economic conditions there. He came back so convinced of the necessity for foreign aid that he went home to his district, where there was strong sentiment against aid, and made fifty speeches. At El Monte, he voiced his basic point: "We cannot afford to follow a policy of isolation and let the people of Europe down at this time, and therefore allow Russia full sway in Europe."

In all of his speeches on that missionary tour, he followed generally the same pattern:

"As a member of the Herter Committee on Foreign Aid I had the opportunity to visit Europe this summer and to see conditions there first-hand. As a result of that experience and also as a result of my study of world conditions since that time, I am convinced that our national self-interest requires that we embark upon a well-administered long-range program of aid to those countries of Europe who are willing to do everything they can to help themselves.

"I believe that there are three basic and fundamental reasons why a majority of our people will support the Congress in a European Recovery Program. The first is humanitarian. The second is economic. The third is strategic.

"The humanitarian reason has been overemphasized in the past, and I would say that it is incidental to the other two.

"As for the second reason, there is no question but that an economically healthy Europe will contribute immeasurably to the prosperity and soundness of our own economy. If the economic systems of the European and Asiatic countries are allowed to deteriorate our own standard of living will suffer as a result.

"The third and probably most important reason for our support of a European Recovery Program is strategic. At the present time throughout the world a great ideological battle is raging between two systems of life—totalitarian Communism, as represented by Soviet Russia, and Democracy, as represented primarily by the United States. The only chance for the forces of Communism to succeed in their attempt to dominate the still free peoples of Europe and Asia is for the United States to discontinue its aid program. Communism thrives on misery, hunger and desperation, and where a political and economic vacuum exists the Communists are there, ready to step in to fill it. Our national self-interest requires that we not let this happen.

"In supporting a long-range foreign aid program there are certain factors which I believe are essential to the success of the program and which should be approved by the Congress. In the first place it is necessary that above everything else the program be well administered. We cannot ask the American people to make sacrifices to aid the people of Europe unless we can be sure that the aid gets to the people for whom it is intended and that it accomplishes the purposes which we have set out to accomplish. . . .

"A question which is often raised concerning the European Recovery Program is this: Regardless of what we do in Europe in the way of aid is there not a possibility that it will not be enough and that Europe may still go Communist? The answer to that question is—yes. I believe it is essential that our people recognize that there is a chance that this program will fail, but against the risk of failure of the European Recovery Program we must balance the risk approaching a certainty that if we do nothing in Europe we shall be faced with catastrophe. In other words, the sure road to war is for the United States to turn isolationist and to leave the countries of Europe and Asia to

their fate. It is for that reason that I believe it is essential that we embark upon this program and do everything that we can to ensure its success. We must remember that if the cause of peace and democracy is lost in Europe, it will also be lost in the United States. There is a chance for failure, but if we apply to this task the same enthusiasm and national co-operation which characterized our war effort, I believe that there is much better than an even chance that our program will succeed and that the aims of peace and democracy for which we fought World War II can eventually be realized. It is to that end that our European Recovery Program should be dedicated."

In 1953, as Vice President, Nixon was still at his missionary work. He told the American Legion's annual convention at St. Louis:

"I know that a question which may be troubling some of you is this: Even if we recognize that we have to cut our over-all spending, why cut the military budget? Why don't we start on some of the foreign 'give-away' programs that we have heard so much about? After all, that would save us five or six billion dollars a year.

"Let us approach this problem by starting again with a basic assumption. At a time when the United States is spending more than it is taking in in taxes and when the people are bearing a heavy tax burden, the Congress would not be justified in appropriating money for foreign aid programs unless it was clearly established that such appropriations were essential to the national security of the United States.

"An analysis of our foreign spending program will show that the term 'foreign aid' is actually a misnomer.

"Of every dollar spent under the program this year eighty cents will go for military equipment purchased in the United States, ten cents to offshore procurement for defense purposes, and ten cents for economic and technical assistance to shore

up the economies of our allies abroad so that they will better be able to defend themselves against aggression.

"I think all of us will agree that in the event of a war one plane at a base in Europe or Asia could well be worth three planes based in the United States. It's just as simple as that.

"The Communist conspiracy today controls one-third of the world's people and approximately one-third of the world's resources. With their totalitarian system the Communist leaders are able to extract the maximum for military purposes from the resources and people they control. Under the circumstances, despite our great productive capacity, the United States simply cannot stand alone. We need allies and we need bases abroad. We are either going to fall together or stand together."

Later, he tackled the touchy question of aid to India:

"I noted a recent, well-intended suggestion that the United States should discontinue aid to India because India had not agreed with us in certain aspects of our foreign policy. I respectfully submit that those who advocate this course of action have not correctly appraised the true purpose of our aid programs.

"Six hundred million uncommitted people hold the balance of power in the world today. Over one-half of these people live in India.

"It was my privilege to meet Mr. Nehru and other Indian leaders two years ago. I do not always agree with them, but I do know this:

"Our friends in India share our devotion to the common law and to the English parliamentary system—both of which are the very antithesis of Communist doctrine. . . . To cut off aid or to put strings on it will not win India to our side. It is more likely to have the opposite effect. The people of India cherish their independence, and they resent deeply any attempt to compromise it.

"American aid is granted to India and to other countries,

not because we want them to be dependent upon us, but because we want India and other countries to be strong enough to be independent of any foreign domination."

WORLD TRADE

The Nixon position on trade, based on his belief in more and freer trade and tempered by his recognition of the practical political problems involved, was outlined concisely in his speech before the American-Japan Society in Tokyo on November 19, 1953:

"And now may I turn to another subject which relates to this general problem of the defense of the free world against aggression and to the future of Japan, and that is the subject of trade. One concern that has been raised from time to time has been that the United States, it is feared, will embark on a policy of raising its tariff barriers and reducing the possibility and the opportunity of Japan and other free countries to trade with the United States in the months and years to come. And the question has been asked me, 'What is the long-range policy of the United States toward trade with Japan and other nations?' And my answer here again must take into account certain practical considerations.

"In the first place, we have industries in the United States, too. They believe, in some instances, that they need protection in order to survive, just as industries here believe that they need trade in order to survive. And therefore, in our Congress, those various interests must be considered and they are considered. But I can make this general statement without fear of contradiction. It is the policy of this Administration that, in the long run, barriers which exist between trade, trade between the United States and Japan and other free nations, that such barriers—in the long run—must be reduced rather than raised. And we will work constantly toward that objective, because

we realize that if we are to have peace in the world, if we are to have a prosperous world, if a nation like Japan, for example, is going to be self-sufficient, is going to be able to exist, it is essential that we have the maximum amount of trade that we possibly can between our peoples and between our countries. And you can be sure that this Administration is dedicated to that general principle.

"And, not only are we interested in expanding the trade between the United States and other free nations, including Japan, but we are also interested in expanding trade between the United States and Japan and other areas of the world. We realize, for example, the importance of Southeast Asia as a prospective trading area for Japan, and the policy of the United States will be constantly to work toward increasing the area of trade so that all nations may be able eventually to increase their standards of living by trading wherever possible with other nations throughout the world."

DEFENSE

A consistent and fervent supporter of a strong defense force, Nixon nevertheless always had the economic factor in mind. He told the Bureau of Advertising of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, in April 1953:

"Both at home and abroad a healthy domestic economy is inseparable from true defense. The greatest asset the free world has is a strong, free and productive American economy. A program which would bankrupt our economy or the economics of our allies will destroy the chance of the free world to resist aggression."

Supporting the Eisenhower Administration's new "long-haul" defense policy, he told the Veterans of Foreign Wars' annual encampment in Milwaukee on August 5, 1953:

"The most expensive method of maintaining a military es-

tablishment is to have it drastically expanded or reduced according to the degree of crisis that appears to exist at any particular moment.

"It is far better from an economic and military point of view that the rate of build-up be gradual and sure, yet geared to the most accelerated pace at which the multitude of activity connected with developing a strong Air Force can be properly co-ordinated."

A week later, at the annual Convention of the American Legion in St. Louis, he expanded on the same theme:

"The position of this Administration . . . should be and is: that the United States cannot settle for anything less than the best Air Force in the world, bar none. . . . In determining whether we have that kind of an Air Force, what counts is not the number of wings or groups on paper but the number of planes which are ready for combat in the event of war. . . . Where great amounts of money are involved there inevitably will be honest differences of opinion as to the adequacy or inadequacy of the funds appropriated. In the final analysis someone's judgment has to be taken. The final decision as to the military budget, including appropriations for the Air Force, was made by the President himself in the National Security Council. Certainly there is no one better qualified in the United States to make that decision, and I believe the people of the United States are justified in relying on the President's judgment in this instance.

"I realize that there are some of you who will say, 'We are willing to trust the President's judgment but why argue about the amount at all? It's a question only of spending five or six billion dollars more or less. Why not spend the money so that there will be no doubt and no room for argument?'

"Time after time during his campaign and since his election the President has attempted to bring home to the American

people one of the fundamental principles of his Administration: that national security is inseparable from national solvency.

"The Communists know this. Those of you who have read Marx, Lenin and Stalin know that they have said over and over again that they may not have to defeat the United States and the capitalist nations in war, that they may be able to force us to destroy ourselves from within in our efforts to defend ourselves from without, that they may be able to force us to spend our way into bankruptcy."

Quaker Nixon voted for universal military training, and said in 1952: "I believe that universal military training is the most equitable way to share the burden of defense that I know of at the present time." But he added that he did not favor U.M.T. "as a permanent feature of our society."

In 1955, the Vice President took up the cause of the President's reserve program. He told a parent-chaplain conference in Rochester, New York, on May 24:

"We could make no greater mistake than to fail to pass an adequate reserve program as requested by the President. In World War I, World War II and the Korean War, we learned the terrible costs in war of unpreparedness in peace. Now at a time when our policy of strength and firmness is beginning to pay off, we must not drop our guard. We must maintain our strength because strength is the only language the Communist leaders understand.

"Young Americans have always willingly responded to the call to duty in wartime. But in peacetime it is claimed that the cause is not great enough.

"Our peacetime servicemen today, however, have potentially a greater cause and a greater objective to serve than did even our wartime servicemen.

"In war our soldiers fight to defend our freedom and inde-

pendence. But the men who maintain our armed forces in peacetime, through the strength they help to sustain, serve two great objectives. Not only may war be avoided and peace maintained, but through strength we avoid the weakness which could bring surrender without a shooting war in the cold war which is being waged against us."

Richard Nixon's expressed position on atomic energy and atomic weapons can be divided into four Nixon-like points: (1) guard atomic secrets closely as long as they are secrets; (2) use atomic weapons in case of war; (3) share atomic know-how that can be shared safely with friendly nations; (4) work to make atomic energy a force for peace. He has taken the position that there can be disarmament and international control of weapons, including nuclear weapons, only if there is a genuine and effective system of inspection.

In a speech before the Executives Club of Chicago on March 17, 1955, he said: "The weapons which were used during the Korean War and World War II are obsolete. Our artillery and our tactical air force in the Pacific are now equipped with atomic explosives which can and will be used on military targets with precision and effectiveness.

"It is foolish to talk about the possibility that the weapons which might be used in the event war breaks out in the Pacific would be limited to the conventional Korean and World War II types of explosives. Our forces could not fight an effective war in the Pacific with those types of explosives if they wanted to. Tactical atomic explosives are now conventional and will be used against the military targets of any aggressive force."

But Nixon has expressed the hope that the terrible power of nuclear energy may, in the long run, serve to prevent a shooting war. "As a weapon of destruction," he said, "its power is so great that any leader will think twice before he begins a war which might lead to national suicide. . . . Through developing

and sharing this unlimited new source of power we can for the first time in the world's history attack successfully one of the root causes of war—the lack of natural resources which has so often caused one people to covet and seize the territory of another.

ASIA

On foreign policy as it affected Europe, Nixon was in general, bipartisan agreement with the Truman Administration. He believed, and often said, that the threat of Communism in Europe had been recognized and wisely countered. But he was a constant and severe critic of the Democratic Administration's policies in Asia. Failure to recognize and act against the Communist threat in China, he contended, led to the loss of China, to the Korean War and to serious loss in Indochina.

When President Truman dismissed General Douglas MacArthur from his Far East command in 1951, Nixon took MacArthur's side, and called for a military victory in Korea. On the radio program *America's Town Meeting of the Air* from Toledo, Ohio, on May 1, 1951, he offered his own view of the possibilities in Korea:

"We can end the war in Korea one of three ways: First, we can get out of Korea. Second, we can win the war through a military victory on the battlefield. And third, we can end it by a political settlement at the conference table.

"Under present conditions, two of these three possible ways of ending the war must be rejected. We cannot get out of Korea because this would be the greatest possible encouragement we could give to the Communist aggressors in Asia and would probably result eventually in the fall of all of Asia to the Communists and a third world war.

"A political settlement with the Chinese Communists is not possible, because they insist that such a settlement must give

them a seat in the United Nations, and control over the island of Formosa. To agree to such conditions now or in the future would be outright appeasement and this course would lead to World War III.

"This means that the only way we can end the war in Korea is to win it on the battlefield. Victory on the battlefield is not possible under the present restrictions which have been imposed on our field commanders and fighting forces. . . .

"I believe that we have no other choice than to take the necessary steps which will end the war in Korea with victory and not appeasement. I suggest these steps: (1) Stop all trade with Communist China, including the billion dollars' worth of goods which the British are shipping into the port of Hong Kong annually. (2) Give our commanders the right to establish air reconnaissance over the mainland of China so that we at least can prepare for the offensives which they are mounting. (3) Remove the restrictions on the Chinese Nationalists on Formosa so that the Communists will have to divert some of their troops from the Korean battlefield in order to defend against the threat of invasion from the south. (4) Ask for more help from the other allies on the Korean battle front. They have as great an interest in bringing this war to a successful conclusion as we have. (5) Warn the Chinese Communists that unless they cease sending troops and supplies into Korea by a certain date, our commanders in the field will be given the authority to bomb the bases from which those troops and supplies are coming."

Despite his criticism of the way the Truman Administration conducted the war in Korea, Nixon often made the point that the decision to go into Korea was right. He told the annual convention of the American Legion at St. Louis in August, 1953: "It was right because the Communists had to be stopped. In the past I have had occasion to disagree with the former

President of the United States, Mr. Truman, on many issues. But in making this decision, he was right and he deserves credit for making it."

When the war was finally halted, he hailed the truce as a major accomplishment of the Eisenhower Administration. While there was no military victory, he argued that ending the war with honor and without concessions eliminated his earlier objections to a negotiated settlement.

In 1954, after Vice President Nixon made an off-the-record speech at an American Society of Newspaper Editors luncheon in Washington, word leaked out that he had proposed that the United States send troops to Indochina. An international furor immediately blew up. There was sophisticated speculation that the Vice President was floating a trial balloon for the State Department. Some of his enemies seized the occasion to denounce him as a meddler in foreign policy or a reckless interventionist.

The furor had little relationship to the fact. In his speech to the editors, Nixon had in no way proposed that American troops go to Indochina. The subject was brought up in a question-and-answer session after the speech, by Talbot Patrick, editor and publisher of the Rock Hill, South Carolina, *Evening Herald*. This is what was said:

Patrick: "[If] the Government of France . . . should decide to withdraw the French troops from Indochina, do you think that the United States should send in American troops to replace them if that were necessary to prevent Indochina being taken by the Communists?"

Nixon: "In the first place, I do not believe that the presumption or the assumption which has been made by the questioner would occur, and I recognize that he has put it as a hypothetical question.

"In the second place, however, answering the question directly and facing up to it, I say this: The United States is the leader of the free world, and the free world cannot afford in Asia a further retreat to the Communists. I trust that we can do it without putting American boys in. I think that with proper leadership we can. . . . But under the circumstances, if in order to avoid further Communist expansion in Asia and particularly in Indochina, if in order to avoid it, we must take the risk now by putting American boys in, I believe that the executive branch of the government has to take the politically unpopular position of facing up to it and doing it, and I personally would support such a decision."

After the public controversy boiled up, Patrick wrote Nixon to say that he was the questioner who had started it all. In his reply, Nixon wrote to Patrick: "I am sure you must have been amused by the way so many reporters assumed that your question at the editors meeting was a planted one and my answer a 'trial balloon.' At least two of us know the truth even if we can get very few others to believe it!"

When the war in Indochina ended in essential victory for the Communist side, and without effective United States participation, Nixon turned to discussion of what the U.S. could do to stop such Communist gains in Asia. He told the Veterans of Foreign Wars' annual encampment in Philadelphia in August, 1954:

"What we must do is offer a positive alternative. The people in the uncommitted areas of the world must be convinced that there is a better way to get what they want than through following Communist leadership. We have an outstanding case to sell. Take for example, the issue of independence.

"We fought for our own independence.

"We gave the Philippines theirs.

"We helped Indonesia get hers.

"We suffered 150,000 American casualties aiding Korea to defend hers.

"We have offered Puerto Rico hers.

"On the other hand, the Communists have taken independence away from every nation they have occupied.

"Take the issue of economic progress. Our aid programs have provided over thirty billion dollars to nations abroad without strings attached. The Communists on the other hand have exploited every nation they have occupied in order to build up the Soviet homeland.

"In the past most Americans have recognized the necessity to support a policy which would keep America strong militarily, deal effectively with the threat of Communism in the United States, and develop mutual defense pacts with as many of our allies as are willing to stand with us.

"We must have the same enthusiasm for, and give the same support to, additional courses of action which deal with the heart of the problem and which are aimed at stopping revolutions before they get started.

"In this category we have, for example:

"1. An economic program relying on trade where possible and aid where necessary, so that people who want to remain on the side of the free nations are not forced by economic necessity to become unwilling satellites of the Communist world. Such a policy, for example, is essential in the case of Japan.

"2. We must not be niggardly in supporting the programs which will get across the truth about the Communist world and the free world to peoples who are being subjected to a tremendous propaganda barrage by the Communist leaders. Nothing could be more penny-wise and pound-foolish than to refuse on

grounds of 'economy' to spend adequate amounts on our information, library and exchange programs.

"What we must do is to recapture the spirit of the American Revolution. In the early days of the Republic, America was a symbol for men everywhere who wanted independence for their nations, equality and freedom for individuals, and economic progress and a better way of life.

"We cannot expect other peoples to adopt political and economic systems exactly like our own. But we can convince them by what we say and what we do that the best hope for the world lies not in turning toward dictatorship and tyranny of any type but in the development of a society in which nations can be independent, men can be free, and peoples can live together in peace and friendship."

With the evidence of Korea and Indochina in mind, Nixon has asserted that "the United Nations is not a perfect instrument for settling international disputes." Nevertheless, he told the New York *Herald Tribune* Forum on October 18, 1955, that the United Nations "does provide a forum for discussion of those disputes. And talking is always better than fighting. I would suggest that we would all do better if we emphasized more its successes rather than its deficiencies."

In dealing with the Communists, Nixon has said, the United States should be patient—and wary. At the Texas Press Association Convention in Galveston in June, 1955, he said: "No one knows why the Communist leaders in both Peking and Moscow have made conciliatory moves during the past few weeks, but we must never forget that it is standard Communist tactics to retreat at times in order to move forward more effectively toward their announced goal of world domination. This is not the first time that a sharp change in direction in foreign

policy has been ordered by the master conspirators in the Kremlin.

"Communist foreign policy today obviously has two major objectives—in Europe, the neutralization of Germany; in Asia, the admission of Communist China into the United Nations. Their previous policy of threats and other aggressive tactics failed to block the integration of Germany into the Western Alliance, and was losing them support among the all-important neutrals in Asia. It is not surprising, therefore, that a policy of conciliation in both Europe and Asia is now being given a trial. . . .

"For years the Soviet leaders have talked peace. They have launched propaganda peace offensives time and again. Now the world has a chance to see if they mean what they say—if their deeds match their words. There is no more effective way they can prove their good faith than for them to give independence to their satellites and to agree to free elections for the people in those countries."

To the whole problem of international relations, Richard Nixon has brought the background of a religious man. He applied that background as he discussed the relationship of religion to world affairs at the National Conference on Spiritual Foundations in Washington on October 24, 1955:

"In this struggle between good and evil, religion teaches and encourages man to choose the path revealed to us by God. It teaches us brotherhood, forgiveness, and love of peace. The friendliness that people show toward one another is a natural expression of their religious feeling. When hatred and aggressive war grip a nation, it means that its rulers, at least, have forgotten these simple lessons.

"It is a harsh fact that religious truth is not yet a controlling force in world affairs. We read of a revival of faith everywhere, yet the world is tense with many little wars and its fear that

one great war might break out. Somehow, religious faith is not having sufficient impact on men's political life. . . .

"The basic ideas of love and brotherhood, so fundamental to all religious belief, contribute greatly to the understanding that leads to peace. When we respect and revere our fellow man as a child of God, no matter what his race, culture or nationality, we take the first steps toward real friendship. We are more willing to see his point of view, to avoid frictions based on ignorance or misinformation. I am not naive enough to hold that understanding alone is enough. It cannot of itself conquer ill will, greed or cruelty. But it can, at least, bring harmony among the great majority that are men of good will. . . .

"I am convinced that the path to peace would be smoother if these attitudes prevailed throughout the world. The problem of organized religion is basically the same as the problem facing each of us as individuals. It is a problem of choice between good and evil tendencies in our hearts. The churches fight on a broad scale against the triumph of evil in society, just as we struggle against its ascendancy in our own lives. By pooling your forces, as you are doing here, you greatly increase the chance that you will succeed. You can fight more strongly to put the principles of justice, of brotherhood, of human decency, into the customs and laws and policies of nations. If you win this struggle, then we can look forward to a new and better age. There would be a spiritual rebirth comparable, in its way, to the immense physical energies released by the atomic developments of our time."

XII.

SUBVERSION AND SECURITY

"When you go out to shoot rats, you have got to shoot straight."

ON the issues of subversion and security, Richard Nixon has a reputation that is known around the world. After West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer returned from his visit to Moscow in 1955, United States reporters learned that he had found Communist Party Boss Nikita Krushchev grumping about "this fellow Nixon." Nixon has been a persistent and unremitting foe of subversion. In the process, he has avoided many of the political pitfalls that have tripped some other working anti-Communists. He has made some careful distinctions.

Early in his service on the House Committee on Un-American Activities he called for a "square deal" for people accused of being Communists. In January, 1948, when the Committee was considering Communist-control legislation, he wrote the U. S. Attorney General: "We are deeply concerned that in our efforts to combat and break up subversive movements through legislation we do not impair or destroy any of the rights and liberties which we hold so fundamental here in America. If in

adopting legislation there would be any danger of suppressing a truly democratic group as well as Communist groups, I would question the adoption of any legislation at all. [It is] the duty of Congress to find a way to separate the Reds from the pinks."

In an interview with a Los Angeles *Daily News* reporter at that time, he said: "I shall be opposed to any legislation which would in any way curb the activities of organizations which, within the democratic framework of the constitutional system, advocate and work for peaceful changes in our economic and political system. But, on the other hand, I think the American people are entitled to know when an organization pretends to be working for constitutional changes in our form of government but actually is controlled by and is serving the interests of the Communist Party and a foreign government."

Discussing the role of Congressional committees, he told the annual convention of the American Legion in St. Louis on August 3, 1953: "I have found, and I believe that most of those who are members of Congressional committees will agree, that where fair procedures are followed the investigations are most effective.

"It is essential also to be extremely careful in this field, where a man's reputation can be destroyed by accusations of Communist affiliation, to distinguish between an individual who is a voluntary participant in the Communist conspiracy and one who innocently may have had contact with it.

"For example, the Communists are very clever in concealing their front organizations. It is altogether possible that a completely loyal American might have joined a well-concealed Communist front or even two. When he joins a considerable number indiscriminately a grave question as to his judgment, of course, arises, and that presents a different problem. But certainly where the facts show that an isolated affiliation was

an innocent one the reputation of the individual should not be destroyed.

"It is also essential to recognize that when an individual who has been a member of the conspiracy recognizes that he has been wrong he should be given every opportunity to right the wrong that he did to his country by his participation in the Communist movement. If he does so and takes positive action to expose the conspiracy and to destroy it he should be accepted as a loyal American citizen."

Before the Maine Bar Association at Augusta on January 25, 1951, Nixon outlined in detail the procedures he recommended for the Congressional committees investigating subversion:

"It seems to me that there are certain procedures which should be codified and uniformly followed in all Congressional hearings. (Incidentally, I might point out, that we did follow these procedures throughout the Hiss-Chambers case.)

"First, every witness before a Congressional committee should have the right to counsel at all times if he so desires. Second, he should have the right to confer with his counsel before answering questions. Third, he should have the right to make a statement in his own behalf to answer any charges that have been made against him. Fourth, he should have the right to present the names of witnesses to the committee's staff and the committee members whom he wants to have called in order to refute charges which have been made against him. And, finally, he should have the right, in addition, to submit questions to members of the committee's staff and the members of the committee which he wants asked of the witnesses who have appeared against him.

"I say that those procedures can be adopted; they will not interfere with orderly and effective Congressional hearings and I believe that they will certainly be an improvement over some

of the hearings in which, due perhaps as much to lack of experience and lack of any rules to follow, we have had some abuses which should be corrected."

His best-known utterance on that phase of the subject, however, came in March, 1954, when he reprimanded Wisconsin's Senator Joe McCarthy (without naming him) in terms that were easily understood.

"The President and this Administration recognize the right and the responsibility of Congressional committees to investigate in this field," he said. "Here I want to make a statement that some of you are going to agree with, and some of you are not, but which should be made.

"The President and this Administration, the responsible leadership in the Republican Party, insist that, whether in the executive branch or in the legislative branch of the government, the procedures for dealing with the threat of Communism in the United States must be fair and they must be proper.

"Now, I can imagine some of you will say, 'Why all this hullabaloo about being fair when you are dealing with a gang of traitors?' As a matter of fact, I have heard some people say, 'After all, we are dealing with a bunch of rats. What we ought to do is go out and shoot them.'

"I agree they are a bunch of rats. But just remember this, when you go out to shoot rats, you have to shoot straight, because when you shoot wildly, it not only means that the rats may get away more easily—but you make it easier on the rats. Also, you might hit someone else who is trying to shoot rats, too. So we have to be fair for two very good reasons:

"1. Because it is right, and:

"2. Because it is the most effective way of doing the job.

"Why is it right? Well, why do we fight Communism in the first place? Because Communism threatens freedom. And when

we use unfair methods to fight Communism, we help to destroy freedom ourselves.

"Now, why is the most effective way to fight Communists to do it fairly?

"I have some experience in this field. I think I know what I am talking about. I know that even when you do it fairly, you will get criticism from some of those who object, not to how you are investigating, but to what you are investigating. When you do it unfairly, and with irresponsibility, all that you do is give ammunition to those who oppose any action against the Communists. When, through carelessness, you lump the innocent and the guilty together, what you do is give the guilty a chance to pull the cloak of innocence around themselves.

"In recent weeks we have seen a striking example of the truth of these principles I have enunciated. Men who have in the past done effective work exposing Communism in this country have, by reckless talk and questionable methods, made themselves the issue, rather than the cause they believe in so deeply. When they have done this, you see, they not only have diverted attention from the danger of Communism, but have diverted attention to themselves. Also, they have allowed those whose primary objective is to defeat the Eisenhower Administration to divert attention from its great program to these individuals who follow those methods."

While urging Congressional committees to shoot straight, Nixon has never suggested that they stop shooting. He told the American Legion convention in St. Louis in 1953: "There are a number of people, loyal Americans who are not Communists by any stretch of the imagination, who feel that Congressional committees should get out of the field of investigating Communist subversion. They believe that they have not served any useful purpose in the past and that they have done more harm than good.

"I disagree with this position, and I want to tell you why. . . . Their usual contention is that the way to handle the problem is through the courts. They say that when a Communist breaks the law the thing to do is try him and if he is guilty put him in jail. If he doesn't break the law, leave him alone. The difficulty, of course, with this approach is that we are dealing here with a conspiracy. Preventive action is needed before the conspiracy reaches the point where it can commit the overt act. Unfortunately, the courts can move in only when the act is committed and the law is broken. Putting it simply, we cannot afford to wait until the atomic bomb is exploded.

"Congressional committees have rendered an invaluable service in exposing the Communist conspiracy in those instances where the courts would have no jurisdiction. . . . If it had not been for the Committee on Un-American Activities, Alger Hiss would be free today. He had so cleverly concealed what he and his co-conspirators had done that the statute of limitations had run on his crime. No law could reach him. The Congressional committee moved in and questioned him. He eventually lied about what he had done and the courts were then able to send him to jail for perjury. Other instances could be cited which back up my contention that the Congressional committees serve a very useful purpose in this field."

Nixon also maintained that a government employee who hides behind the Fifth Amendment when asked about Communist affiliation should be fired. In his 1953 speech at the American Legion convention he illustrated with a simple example:

"Suppose you have your money in a bank. The bank is robbed. All the evidence points to the fact that a gang of robbers operating in the community was involved in committing the crime. In the course of the investigation all of the employees of the bank are questioned. One of the employees of the bank answers the questions in this manner:

"Question: 'Did you rob the bank?'

"Answer: 'I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.'

"Question: 'Were you a member of the gang?'

"Answer: 'I refuse to answer the question on the ground that any answer I might give might tend to incriminate me.'

"He is confronted with various individuals who are known to be members of the gang and is asked, 'Do you know these individuals?'

"Answer: 'I refuse to answer on the ground that any answer I give might tend to incriminate me.'

"What would our conclusions be after this investigation? We would all agree that under the Constitution the bank employee had the right to refuse to answer the questions on the ground of self-incrimination. On the other hand, we would take our money out of that bank just as fast as we possibly could if the directors of the bank didn't fire him from his job on the spot because of his refusal to answer.

"Let me make my position and that of this Administration absolutely clear. Anyone who refuses to co-operate with a Congressional committee or with the courts or with any other law-enforcement agency of this government in exposing a conspiracy to destroy America forfeits his right to work for the American government."

Nixon held that cases of questionable loyalty should always be resolved in favor of the government and not the employee. He told the Maine Bar Association: "In the field of loyalty of government employees the question should never be one of legal guilt; it should always be one of security risk in the strictest sense.

"No one has an inalienable right to work for the government. This is not a court proceeding; a man is not going to go to jail by reason of the findings of the board in such cases. By

putting the whole program strictly on a security-risk basis we can get away from the mistaken approach that we have used in the past—that in order to remove anybody from a position it must be shown that, as of today, as of this moment, he is a card-carrying member, for example, of the Communist Party."

In the cold war, Nixon saw subversion as possibly the most important of all issues:

"There is too much of a tendency to view the present conflict between the free world and the Communists as primarily military in character. While it is essential to our security that we remain stronger militarily than the Communists, we must never forget that they have very successfully developed methods of coming to power without resorting to war.

"Since World War II the Communists have brought under their domination and control the governments of eight major nations and over five hundred million people. They have accomplished this without losing a single Russian soldier in combat. Whether the method used is subversion, as in Czechoslovakia, or internal revolution, as in China, the instruments for overthrowing the non-Communist governments have in every instance been nationals of the country involved.

"The same formula is repeated with variations over and over again: (1) Weaken the existing economic and political institutions of the target country. (2) Recruit a small but completely dedicated group of fifth columnists made up of native citizens but directed and controlled from Moscow. (3) Overthrow the existing government through revolution, subversion, rigged elections or whatever means best fit the particular situation.

"According to latest estimates, the Communist fifth column in America numbers only forty-three thousand active members. This number, however, as J. Edgar Hoover has pointed out, is larger in proportion to the American population than

the Communist Party was in Russia at the time of the successful Russian Revolution. This does not mean that the government of the United States is potentially in danger of being overthrown by the Communists. Our economic and political institutions are much too strong for that to happen. But this does mean that we cannot let down our guard. We must keep our economy strong and not allow ourselves to be weakened to the point that internal subversion can be effective.

“In spite of our great strength as a nation, the Communist fifth column has, during the past ten years, done irreparable damage to our security and can do even more damage in the future in the event of war.”

A Politician at Work

XIII.

LESSONS FOR THE PARTY

"Let's build a party to match our President."

WHEN Lieutenant Commander Richard Nixon took off his Navy uniform and became a politician in 1946, he went about his new work with his own particular brand of intensity —a brand that is rare among politicians. He became a student of politics, of its causes and effects, of its details, its tactics and its pitfalls. He was not a student for long; he soon became an instructor.

As a matter of fact, he began telling his party what it should stand for in his very first speech as a political candidate. Opening his campaign at the Republican Lincoln Day rally in Pomona, California, on February 12, 1946, he said of Abraham Lincoln: "In the simple facts of his life we find that, above all, he stood for a great principle, supporting the Union. Today the Republican Party must stand for a principle; and the Administration has given us an issue. The Republican party must once again take a stand for freedom. . . . Lincoln had great faith in America's future. But today there are people who have lost faith in America. Some believe we must have more governmental controls; others would go back to the days of Taft

or McKinley. There is no going back. We are going forward to an era unequaled in the nation's history. . . . We should make this again a nation in which another Lincoln could rise to leadership and take his place among the immortals."

In the same speech, he made the point that "Republicans live on both sides of the track, and the country needs a party representative not of big business or of big labor, but of all the people, so that the man who works will have an ever higher standard of living."

By 1949, only his third year in politics, Congressman Nixon was beginning to get calls for speeches at Republican meetings all around the country. Almost everywhere he went he read the party a lesson. At the Los Angeles County Republican Assembly on April 20, 1949, he was bluntly frank:

"If the Republican Party is to come back into power in 1950 and 1952, it must develop and sell to the American people a new constructive program of action which will renew the faith of the people in the party and in the principles for which it stands.

"At the outset we must quit this Pollyanna whistling in the dark about a 'close election' and recognize that the party suffered an overwhelming decisive defeat last November. What made it worse was the fact that the defeat was suffered at the hands of a presidential candidate who was perhaps one of the most vulnerable in our political history, and who had behind him a party divided, not twice, but three times.

"While it is true that overconfidence and the failure of nearly twenty million people to vote were factors in the defeat, the major lesson which we should learn from that election is that no candidate or party can win an election today without letting the people know where it stands on the vital issues of the day and then fighting out the campaign on those issues. We must know the facts, be convinced we are right, and defend our position vigorously and effectively. . . .

"There is considerable disagreement as to what course of action the party should follow in developing its program for the future.

"There are some who believe that the only way we can win is to go down the road with the Democratic Party on a me-too basis, except that we should go them one better. It is true that such a program might win for us, but in winning this way, we would be abdicating our responsibilities to the people. . . .

"There is another group in the party who believe that we should follow a course of 'negative opposition,' in which we should oppose all policies of the Democratic Administration and thus give the people a clear-cut choice as to what each party stands for. This group feels that if the present Administration is given enough rope it will hang itself and that by sabotaging their program here and there we will eventually have a 'Truman depression' which will drive the Democrats from power. While it is true that we might win following this course of action, I think there is a better possibility that we might lose. But even if we did win, the victory would be too costly, because in the end both the party and the country would be destroyed. We must not come to power on the misery and suffering of people which would be inevitable in the event of another depression.

"The third course of action is that of constructive opposition to the Administration policy, in which we emphasize what we are *for* rather than what we are *against*. We must take a definite position against the socialistic proposals of the present Administration but we cannot be placed in the indefensible position of saying that we have no positive program to meet the social needs which the people want met.

"The Republican Party has gotten itself in the position of being classed as the tool of big business and vested interests. This charge is false and we should make a resounding declara-

tion of independence, from Wall Street, from labor bosses and any other vested interests. The Republican Party must stand for and represent all people—not certain classes of the people as opposed to other classes.

“Our program should be based upon the old-fashioned virtues for which we have always stood—honesty, thrift and hard work. These are virtues, incidentally, which are not characteristic of the present Administration. Our party historically has stood for the freedom of individuals. We should continue to do so. This includes freedom from all types of tyranny, whether exercised by individuals, organizations (big labor, big business), or government.

“Starting with these principles we must adopt a program which will attract to the party independent voters and particularly the youth, a field in which we have been weakest.

“The program should include action along the following lines:

“1. Cutting the huge government bureaus down to size. The excessive burden of taxation cannot be reduced until government expenditures are reduced. . . . This action will require courage, because the spender rather than the economizer is generally the more popular in politics. But it is action which must be taken if we are going to save our American system from the bureaucratic restrictions and oppressive taxation which are rapidly destroying it.

“2. In the field of labor it is necessary that the Republican Party stand for a balanced program which will check the abuses of both management and labor. We should recognize that labor-management relations should be conducted on a two-way basis and that guaranteeing freedom of individual workers from coercion by either union or management is the responsibility of government. We, in addition, must stand for

protection of the public from the exercise of arbitrary power in the hands of either management or labor.

"3. In the field of civil rights the party of Abraham Lincoln must indicate a genuine interest and take positive action. In the past there has been too much lip service on the civil rights issue on the part of both parties.

"4. In the field of social legislation we must resist socialization of free American institutions and the adoption of programs which would bankrupt the country. But we cannot place ourselves in the indefensible position of being against education for children, decent housing for our people, medical care for the sick. For example, in opposing the Administration's health program, we have a responsibility to point out the fatal defects in the Administration program—how it would reduce the standard of medical care for all and set up an all-powerful bureaucracy. But we must also present to the country and vigorously support an alternative program which is based on voluntary co-operation rather than compulsory regimentation. . . . The same is true of housing and education. While the easy solution to these problems is the Administration solution of having the government take over the institutions and operate them, Republicans should find a constructive alternative which will meet the problem without destroying the individual enterprise system which has assured us today the best housing, finest educational system and the best medical care in the world. . . .

"If we vigorously sell our program to the people we can win in 1950 and 1952. We shall gain support from all classes of people. Above all, we should avoid appealing to classes and thereby setting class against class. We should avoid the technique of promising everything to everybody, in the hope that the promises will be forgotten after the election. It is our responsibility during these times to tell the people the truth and

I am confident that if we do so we shall regain the trust of the people and their support as well."

This was, indeed, a remarkable speech for a thirty-six-year-old Congressman serving his second term. In retrospect, Nixon's 1949 view of what the Republican Party should stand for was quite remarkably like what the Eisenhower Administration's program turned out to be four years later.

Wherever he went, Nixon kept urging people to get into politics—businessmen, physicians, educators, druggists. He also kept telling fellow Republicans that they had to get the votes of Democrats.

"The Republican candidate for the Presidency cannot be elected without the support of millions of Democrats," he said at a G.O.P. rally in San Francisco on August 29, 1951. "Those who contend that all the Republicans have to do to win is to get all the Republicans to go to the polls and vote are just whistling in the dark. If the Republicans want to win, we must put on a campaign which will cause Democrats to vote against their own party's nominee and support the Republican candidate.

"Democrats will not vote for a Republican candidate unless they are convinced: (1) that there is a great issue confronting the nation which requires that the interests of the country be placed above party loyalty; (2) that the Democratic Party is unable to meet this issue; (3) that the Republican Party can effectively meet the issue.

"But Democrats are not going to vote for a Republican candidate for President simply because they are convinced that their own party is unable to solve the great crisis which confronts the nation, unless they are convinced that the Republican candidate and the Republican Party can do a more effective job of meeting that crisis. If the only choice they have is

between two parties and two candidates without a constructive program, they are going to vote for their own party.

"Consequently, if the Republican Party is to win the election this November and obtain the Democratic votes that it will need to win, it is essential that we convince the people that we shall furnish the new, vigorous, dynamic leadership which the nation needs and that we shall place the interests of the nation above partisan considerations wherever the two come in conflict. The people are tired of the negative, destructive criticism which has characterized too many Republican speeches. Criticism of the mistakes of the past is essential so that we will not make those same mistakes in the future. But there is a tremendous longing among people everywhere for good, decent, effective leadership and the Republican Party and its candidates have the responsibility to furnish that leadership."

By mid-1951 Nixon was more in demand as a speaker at G.O.P. meetings all across the country than almost any other Republican in the United States. He told the annual convention of the Young Republican National Federation in Boston on June 28, 1951: "Let's make sure that the Republican Party never again loses an election for failure to stand up and fight it out on the great issues before the people. Let's see that the Republican Party in 1952 puts on the kind of a fighting, rocking, socking campaign that will bring home to the people the merits of our candidates and our program. . . .

"I submit that this is a program which we as Americans and as Republicans can and should support; a program which is designed to meet the threat which is presented to our security by the international Communist conspiracy: Keep the United States militarily strong. Keep the economy of this nation strong and sound and productive and free. Develop a fair and effec-

tive program of internal security. And above all, mount a mighty ideological offensive which will prove to peoples everywhere that the hope of the world does not lie in turning toward dictatorship of any type, but that it lies in developing a strong, a free, and an intelligent democracy."

When Guy Gabrielson, then chairman of the Republican National Committee, was accused of using his political influence to personal advantage, Nixon called upon Gabrielson to resign, although he granted that Gabrielson had done nothing illegal. "The paramount need in the country today is to restore public confidence in the integrity of our national leaders and government officials," he said. "The high officials of the national committee of both major parties should not be in a position where they can profit financially, directly or indirectly, from the influence which they may be able to exert with government agencies."

After Dwight Eisenhower put Richard Nixon at the top of the list, and Nixon was elected Vice Preisdent, he became the key tactician of the Republican Party, always on hand at big G.O.P. powwows, advising, urging, cheering. In this role he met and became a favorite of Republican organization leaders all over the United States. Ironically, as his influence in the party grew nationally, his organization power in his own state seemed to diminish. His rapid rise had left some bruises in California, and two men not much older than he—U.S. Senator William Knowland and Governor Goodwin J. Knight—became his rivals rather than his supporters.

In 1955, Nixon was back on the platform, reading some new lessons to the party, and reviewing a few of the old ones.

He told the Young Republican National Convention in Detroit, on June 17, 1955: "I believe this is the year when we can and must launch a winning campaign to make the Republican Party the majority party of America [but] we aren't

going to do it by kidding ourselves. . . . I propose that we begin by examining our liabilities.

"The Democrats won control of the House and Senate in 1954.

"They won twenty-seven governorships against twenty-one for Republicans, which in the terms of electoral votes is 347 to 184.

"They won over five hundred state legislature seats from Republicans—we won only five from them.

"They have won a majority of city elections held since 1952.

"The polls show that a majority of the people consider themselves Democrats; and this majority among younger voters is two to one.

"In the light of these dismal statistics, how can we be optimistic? Because we have a Republican President who has consistently maintained the highest level of popularity of any President in our history. I have traveled to all parts of the country and I say without qualification that President Eisenhower would defeat Mr. Stevenson by a bigger vote in 1956 than he did in 1952.

"The answer to our problem then is to find the secret to his popularity. I believe these are the reasons for it:

"People like him personally.

"People trust him. They have confidence in his honesty and integrity.

"But these two reasons alone do not account for his popularity, because even though people liked and trusted a man he wouldn't continue to have their support unless they liked what he did. The major reason for the President's popularity is that the people like his program, what he stands for and what he has done.

"In that single fact we can see the sure-fire formula for increasing the strength of the Republican Party.

"The Republican Party may not be the party of a majority of the American people. But the Republican President and his Republican program are favored by a majority of the people.

"Therefore, if we are to build a stronger party, Republican candidates, Republican leaders and Republican workers should associate themselves with and support wholeheartedly the leadership and program of our Republican President. I realize that there are some who may say that this program is too liberal. What we must recognize is that the choice is not between the Eisenhower program and one more conservative—but it is between the Eisenhower program and one far more radical. . . . In California we have a saying, 'Give us men to match our mountains.' Young Republicans of America, adopt as your slogan—"Let's build a party to match our President.' "

XIV.

STONES FOR THE OPPOSITION

"The word 'Doom-o-crats' fits them much better."

RICHARD NIXON probably has made more complimentary comments about the controlling leaders of the Democratic Party than any other living Republican. And vice versa. The exchange of unpleasantries has, at times, been deafening.

In Nixon's lexicon, during the 1952 campaign, Adlai Stevenson was "a garrulous Galahad," and "Adlai the appeaser . . . who got a Ph.D. from Dean Acheson's . . . 'College of Cowardly Communist Containment.'" Acheson, then Secretary of State, was "Harry Truman's architect of striped-pants confusion." In choosing his aides, Truman had shown himself to be the "champion lemon picker of all time"; Truman was also "that piano-playing letter writer." Having described what he called Adlai Stevenson's "mouselike dependence" on Truman, Nixon in a speech at Norfolk, Virginia, during the 1952 campaign said: "The Truman tribe will go down in political history as the 'Mink Administration.' Must we now replace it by a 'Weasel Administration'?" It is little wonder that Harry Truman stood grim and tight-lipped on January 20, 1953, when Nixon was being sworn in as Vice President, and that many

Democratic leaders have been grim and open-lipped about Nixon for years. They have hurled back at him charges of "lie," "slur," "slander," and "smear."

This state of affairs has developed for a number of reasons. One is that Nixon, practicing what he preaches, has always conducted a "rocking, socking campaign." As the key working politician of the Eisenhower Administration, he did more rocking and socking than anyone else. This, plus the fact that Eisenhower was a hard man to hit, politically, made Nixon the bull's-eye for the Democratic campaigners.

Some of Nixon's foes have charged that he has indicted the whole Democratic Party as disloyal and corrupt. This is quite untrue. As a man who won all of his elections with a sizable number of Democratic votes, Nixon has been exceedingly careful not to accuse Democrats in general. He has aimed selectively at the "A.D.A. [Americans for Democratic Action] left-wing clique," which, he argues, holds control of the party. Time after time he has deplored the situation of good Democrats who are stuck with such leadership. At times, he has made a particular point of praising Democrats like Georgia's U.S. Senator Walter George, for his bipartisan help on the Eisenhower Administration's foreign policy, and Virginia's U.S. Senator Harry Byrd, for his support of some Administration economic policies.

Nixon's battle with the Democratic leadership began as soon as he entered politics, and by 1951 had assumed major proportions. At a Republican fund-raising dinner in Boston on November 13, 1951, discussing the scandals in the Truman Administration's Bureau of Internal Revenue, Department of Justice and Reconstruction Finance Corporation, he said:

"This Administration has proved that it is utterly incapable of cleaning out the corruption which has completely corroded it and of re-establishing the confidence and faith of the people

in the morality and honesty of their Government employees. The investigations which have been conducted to date into the R.F.C., the Internal Revenue Bureau, and the Justice Department have only scratched the surface. For every case which is exposed there are ten which are successfully covered up, and even then this Administration will go down in history as the 'scandal-a-day Administration'.

"It is typical of the moral standards of the Administration that when they are caught red-handed with pay-off money in their bank accounts the best defense they can give is that they won the money in a poker game, a crap game, or by hitting the daily double.

"A new class of royalty has been created in the United States, and its princes of privileges and pay-off include the racketeers who get concessions on their income-tax cases, the insiders who get favorite treatment on government contracts, the influence peddlers with keys to the back door of the White House, the government employee who uses his position to feather his nest. The great tragedy, however, is not that corruption exists but that it is defended and condoned by the President and other high Administration officials. We have had corruption before in our history, but never before have we seen corruption defended by those in high places. If they won't recognize or admit that corruption exists, how can we expect them to clean it up?"

While Nixon's attacks on corruption stung, it was his discussion of the Communism issue that brought the loudest cries of protest from Democratic leaders. Time after time, he accused the Democratic Administration and the party leaders of failing to recognize and take effective action against the Communist menace at home and abroad. The Democratic leaders' protests were based on the propositions that (1) this issue should not have been discussed at all, or (2) that Nixon used

it in an unfair and misleading way. Nixon argued that it was a most important issue, which should be discussed in plain language.

Here, two points of history should be set straight. First, did Richard Nixon ever call the Democratic Party the "party of treason"? The record supplies a clear and unequivocal answer: he did not. Some other Republicans may have done so, but history is not served by efforts to transfer others' words into Nixon's record. Secondly, did Nixon ever call Harry Truman a traitor, as Mr. Truman has charged? Again, painstaking study of the record provides a definite answer: no. What Nixon did was to charge, repeatedly and specifically and forcefully, that Harry Truman and other leaders of the Democratic Administration failed to recognize, to face up to and to act effectively against the Communist conspiracy at home and the Communist menace abroad. Consistently and clearly, he said he was not charging disloyalty, but blindness and politics-as-usual in the face of grave danger.

"Let us see what has happened during the six years President Truman has held office," he said at the Young Republican National Federation convention in June, 1951. "Six years ago the United States was the most powerful nation on the face of the globe. We had the strongest Army, the strongest Navy, and the strongest Air Force in the world. We had a monopoly on the atomic bomb. As far as people in the world were concerned, there were approximately 1,760,000,000 on our side and only 180,000,000 on the Communist side.

"Six years have passed—six years of conferences, of little wars like the one in Korea, of lack of leadership in Washington. And what is the situation today? Today we are no longer stronger on the ground, we are stronger in strategic air but weaker in tactical air. We're stronger on the sea but weaker beneath the sea. We no longer have a monopoly on the atomic

bomb, though believe that we have more than has our potential enemy. And when we analyze the breakdown in peoples in the world, what do we find? Today, there are only 540,000,000 that can be counted on the side of the free nations —on our side. There are 800,000,000 people on the Communist side, and there are 600,000,000 that will have to be classified as neutral—countries like India and Pakistan. In other words, six years ago the odds in people in the world were nine to one in our favor and today they are five to three against us. . . .

"We have lost 600,000,000 people to the Communists in six years—100,000,000 a year. It is this record which has destroyed the confidence of the people in the policies of this Administration."

At the National Association of Retail Grocers convention in Chicago on June 15, 1951, he pointed specifically at the Truman Administration's China policy: "The Chinese Communists were liberals, they said. I remember Secretary Acheson appearing before a group of Congressmen, fifty-seven of us, just after the Chinese Nationalists had been driven off the mainland to Formosa, and he made the statement, 'We do not yet know what form Communism will take in China; we must wait for the dust to settle.' We know now what form it has taken—those agrarian reformers are shooting down our men on the battlefield! . . . Our policy in the Far East failed; it resulted in the fall of China and it resulted in the Korean War."

Turning to the subversion issue at home, Nixon said in a speech at Boston:

"Leaving out the cases in which charges have been made but not yet proved, and considering only those cases in which documentary evidence, court convictions, and confessions of those involved established the truth of the charges, here are some of the top members of the Administration involved in Com-

unist activities: Alger Hiss, who was the secretary of the United Nations Conference, a member of the Policy Planning Division of the State Department, and one of our top advisers at the Yalta Conference; Harry Dexter White, a former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Lee Pressman, a former general counsel of the C.I.O., who by his own admission at a time when he was general counsel to two of the top agencies of this government in 1935 was a card-carrying, dedicated member of the Communist Party; Nathan Witt, the former Secretary of the National Labor Relations Board; Julian Wadleigh, of the Trade Agreement Section of the State Department; William Remington, who held a \$10,000-a-year job with the Commerce Department, where his duty was to clear exports to the Iron-Curtain countries.

"There are a score of others who held similar positions of power and influence, but this list will suffice to indicate the seriousness of the problem and the effectiveness with which the Communists infiltrated the very highest councils of this Administration.

"And just recently we have seen the shocking exposure of the atomic spy ring in the United States, a ring which was so effective that, according to General Groves, who headed our atomic projects during the war, the Russians obtained the secret of the atomic bomb at least five years before they would have gotten it by their own devices.

"The fact that this infiltration occurred is not, however, what is particularly disturbing. The tragedy is that our top Administration officials have refused time and time again to recognize the existence of the fifth column in this country and to take effective action to clean subversives out of the administrative branch of the Government.

"For example, Whittaker Chambers first made his charges against the members of the Hiss espionage ring in 1939. He

repeated them to officials of the Administration in 1941, 1943, 1945, and 1947. And nothing was done to any of the individuals involved as a result of his charges except to promote each and every member of the ring to higher positions of power and influence in the Government.

"Only when the Committee on Un-American Activities began its investigations in 1947 did the facts begin to come out. And then what happened? The President called the case a red herring, not once but seven different times during the course of the committee's investigations and even after Hiss was indicted. The Justice Department was going to drop the case even after Chambers had produced documents which established the truth of his charges."

By the end of the 1952 campaign he had sharpened this phase of his attack. In Minneapolis on October 23, 1952, he said:

"1. Wasn't Mr. Truman warned in 1945 by a sixty-one-page confidential F.B.I. report of the existence of a Communist ring that included Alger Hiss?

"2. Wasn't it true that Mr. Truman failed to move against Hiss, and even ordered the F.B.I. to hamstring the Hiss investigation by the Committee on Un-American Activities?

"3. Wasn't it true that Prime Minister McKenzie King of Canada warned Mr. Truman of the presence of atomic spies in the United States in 1945, but that the President failed to act?

"I charge the entire record and 'red-herring' attitude of Mr. Truman's Administration and that of his State Department are such that, if they had had their way, the traitor-spy Alger Hiss would be free today and voting for the Truman candidate on November 4."

He turned the Hiss case issue directly at Adlai Stevenson:

"Now we find that Adlai Stevenson claims we have 'smeared' him in connection with the Alger Hiss case, just as Harry Truman claims he has been 'smeared' by our criticism of his Administration's handling of the Communist conspiracy.

"In the case of Mr. Stevenson, here are the facts, and I challenge him or his supporters to refute a single one:

"1. He knew Alger Hiss and was his friend for eighteen years.

"2. He testified voluntarily that Hiss's reputation for loyalty, truthfulness and honor was good.

"3. He came to Hiss's defense after Hiss had been indicted by a grand jury for perjury, after the 'pumpkin papers' had cast grave doubt as to Hiss's reputation on all three scores, and three years after the responsible press . . . and members of Congress had reported charges reflecting on Hiss's loyalty.

"4. He has never shown any indignation over, or uttered any criticism of, Hiss's treachery against America.

"Instead, Mr. Stevenson has said: 'Some persons like Alger Hiss and Elizabeth Bentley, witnessing the devastation of capitalism and the menacing rise of Hitler (during the depression) became entangled in the Communist conspiracy.'

"I do not question Mr. Stevenson's loyalty. But I do question his judgment, which I say was shockingly bad in this instance."

"I do not question Mr. Stevenson's right to testify for his friend Alger Hiss, for I am sure he really believed that Hiss was a man of 'loyalty, veracity and integrity' when he came to his defense in 1949. But Mr. Stevenson was dead wrong—he made a terrible mistake—in this case.

"The United States in this critical time simply cannot afford to have as President, dealing across the conference table with the able and ruthless men in the Kremlin, a person who makes such grave mistakes in judgment.

"If Stevenson were to be taken in by Stalin, as he was by Alger Hiss, the Yalta sell-out would look like a great American diplomatic triumph by comparison."

Discussing Dwight Eisenhower's promise that the United States would work to free the people of the Soviet satellites, Nixon said at Pittsburgh, on October 8, 1952:

"Eisenhower alone has given the peoples of the world a message of hope—a promise that the Free West won't forget its enslaved neighbors.

"And what happened? Moscow propagandists label this 'warmongering.' So did Messrs. Truman, Acheson and Stevenson. I charge that Adlai Stevenson has turned a deaf, wholly un-American ear to the pitiful millions behind Russia's Iron Curtain by falsifying General Eisenhower's program.

"If a man is best known by the enemies he makes, I say Eisenhower has built up an enviable backlog of foes.

"In the United States the Communist party-lining press echoes Moscow.

"Significantly, their cynical mouthings about Eisenhower's 'warmongering' or his 'militarism' or his 'backing by big business' hew about as closely to the current Truman-Acheson-Stevenson line as they do to the Kremlin in pattern.

"At the same time, you'll find the Communist press of the United States handling Adlai Stevenson with kid gloves.

"For weeks the Communist-controlled propaganda machine in this country has been cranking out vituperation against the Republican ticket. But it has suddenly become most strangely silent on Harry Truman's handpicked candidate, Mr. Stevenson.

"This isn't surprising.

"What is more natural than the Communist desire—almost frantic desire—to keep in power an Administration that permitted them to steal our atom-bomb secrets, crack our dip-

lomatic codes, honeycomb our key agencies with their treachery?"

In the 1954 Congressional campaign, Nixon was again on the hustings extolling Republican successes in dealings with "that four-headed monster that was Korea, Communism, corruption and controls," and warning against a return to Democratic control. At Long Beach, California, on October 27, 1954, he said that "the candidates on the Democratic ticket in the close races for the Senate and the House in California and other key states are virtually without exception men who have the support of the fanatical A.D.A. left-wing elements of the Democratic Party. They favor imposing the Truman socialist left-wing policies on the country again."

He discussed those policies in ringing terms. At Chicago on October 20, 1954, he said: "The policies followed by the Truman Administration and its predecessor were a complete failure in providing prosperity in peacetime. . . . What would have happened to America if these policies had been continued?

"There is no question that they would have led the nation straight down the road to socialism.

"We found the proof that this was the case when we came to Washington on January 20, 1953. In the files was a virtual blueprint for socializing America, including spending plans for adding forty billion dollars to the national debt between 1952 and 1956.

"In addition, the Truman policies then and now called for socialized medicine, socialized housing, socialized agriculture, socialized water and power and perhaps most disturbing of all, socializing of America's greatest source of power, atomic energy.

"With the execution of this blueprint, thousands of new bureaucrats would have been added to the Federal payrolls. The

resultant miles of red tape and controls would have tied the American consumer, worker, and businessman into knots, thereby hampering their incentive, initiative, efficiency and productivity."

One of the hottest campaign arguments turned around Nixon's statement that "thousands of Communists, fellow travelers and other security risks were removed from the Federal payroll by the Eisenhower Administration." In Philadelphia on October 23, 1954, Nixon said: "The Democratic National Chairman, Mr. Stephen Mitchell, retorted by stating to a national radio-TV audience that I was a liar.

"What Mr. Mitchell calls me is not important. But when he attacks a successful program of the President of the United States I feel it is my responsibility to lay the facts before the American people.

"Last Monday, the Civil Service Commission released a report showing that 6,926 security risks were removed from the Federal payroll in the period from May, 1953, to June, 1954.

"You would think that this would close the matter once and for all, but this left-wing clique continued to attack the program.

"They inspired stories to effect that a great majority of this number were hired by this Administration, and not by the Truman Administration.

"They also tried to create the impression that the offenses of those discharged were inconsequential. . . .

"In my position, I have had the opportunity to watch closely the operation of this program. In my opinion, it is fair, sane and effective. I believe that any Administration which failed to remove from Federal employment individuals whose records include the derogatory information which is disqualifying under this program would be guilty of violating a public trust.

"Now let us look at the charges these critics make.

"What about the claim that 'most of these individuals were hired by the Eisenhower Administration, not by the Truman Administration?'

"Let us take as an example our State Department. There is certainly no agency in the government in which loyalty and security are more important. A great majority of the employees of this agency are honest, decent, loyal Americans. Unfortunately, during the Truman-Acheson regime, people who could not be so classified were retained in government service.

"The Civil Service Commission report shows that 70 of the State Department employees who are no longer with the government because of this program had information in their files indicating in 'varying degrees, subversive activities, subversive association, and membership in subversive organizations.' This means that they associated with or were members of the Communist Party, Communist-controlled organizations, or other organizations designated as subversive by the Attorney General. Of these 70, 69 were inherited from the Acheson regime. The other one was a 90-day temporary employee who lost his job the moment that his security check was completed.

"The report also discloses that 94 State Department employees had information in their files indicating sexual perversion. Every security expert knows that individuals of this type are easy prey for Communist blackmailers. This entire nest of 94 employees was inherited from the Acheson regime. . . ."

"Fortunately, the great majority of the two million people who work for our government are completely loyal. But it took only one man of questionable loyalty, Alger Hiss, to turn over information of such secrecy to the Communists that the Russians were able to break the secret State Department code before World War II. One individual of doubtful security on the Federal payroll is one too many."

"I say tonight that the Truman Administration has by its record in the past, and by statements of its apologists during this campaign, disqualified itself and its advocates from ever again being entrusted with the task of protecting America's security from the termites who are constantly gnawing at us from within."

Nixon also aroused the fury of Democratic leaders by charging that Communists were supporting Democratic candidates and opposing Republicans.

"All over the United States in the key Senate and House races the Communists are in the forefront calling for the defeat of Republican candidates and the election of an anti-Eisenhower Congress," he said at Butte, Montana, on October 22, 1954.

"I have the proof that this campaign on their part was planned over a year before the November 2 elections.

"There has come into my possession a copy of a secret memorandum which was sent to Communist Party leaders in California from their central headquarters in October, 1953. This document says: 'The main line of policy for the 1954 elections has already been laid down in the resolution of the National Committee and the report of the National Conference.'

"It goes on to outline a coalition and develops the means and methods to be used in endeavoring to win the 1954 elections.

"The party line was: 'The main aim should be to achieve unity behind single candidates in the Democratic primaries, if possible agreed upon in advance.'

"Now let us look at the Draft Program of the Communist Party, published in March of this year by the Communist Party in New York.

"Here again, the Communist Party clearly sets forth its political strategy when it says: 'To unite a new political majority

for 1954 and 1956, recognition of the two-party system remains the form through which the overwhelming majority of American people now express themselves in politics. Under these circumstances the first attempt is to fight out the issues within the ranks of the Democratic Party.'

"The Communist Party in America is right in one respect when it says: 'The 1954 elections are crucial in determining the path America will take.'

"It has determined to conduct its program within the Democratic Party.

"There is no question but that millions of loyal Democrats throughout the United States bitterly resent and will oppose this effort on the part of the Communists to infiltrate the Democratic Party and to make its policies the policies of the Democratic Party.

"As far as the Republican Party is concerned, it never has had the support of the Communist Party—it does not have its support now—and it will never accept it or have it in the future.

"We welcome the opposition of the Communist Party in this campaign.

"The previous Administration's lack of understanding of the Communist danger and its failure to deal with it firmly abroad and effectively at home has led to our major difficulties today. The previous Administration unfortunately adopted policies which were soft, vacillating, and inconsistent in dealing with the Communist threat."

Always, Nixon was inviting "true Democrats" to vote Republican. At Rock Island, Illinois, on October 21, 1954, he said:

"The Democratic Party has a great tradition, but unfortunately, nationally and in states like California and Illinois, the

party has been captured and is under the control of its A.D.A. left wing.

"I have found that great numbers of Democrats do not consider this element to be truly representative of the Democratic Party. They resent the fact that this clique has constantly criticized President Eisenhower's leadership in foreign affairs, refuses to support his program for removing security risks from the government payroll, makes sniping attacks on J. Edgar Hoover and the F.B.I., and advocates the socialization of basic American institutions.

"I find that true Democrats everywhere particularly resented the cynical tactics of this left-wing clique last spring when its members almost hopefully predicted depression, a depression which did not come off despite their cries of gloom and doom.

"I do not question the sincerity of the members of this clique of the Democratic Party. I am sure that they sincerely believe in the socialistic schemes that they want to impose upon the economy of the United States, but I say they do not deserve to be called 'Democrats'—the word 'Doom-o-crats' fits them much better."

These were, indeed, harsh words for the ears of Democratic Party leaders. They were no harsher, however, than some of the words that Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman had used, in their day, against Republicans. Constantly, Democratic Party organization spokesmen sought to needle President Eisenhower into scolding his Vice President for "campaign excesses," particularly since the President had said, in answer to a question at his news conference several months before the 1954 elections, that he hoped subversion would not be an issue. There was no scolding. At campaign's end, the President made a particular point of writing the Vice President:

"Dear Dick: You have personally carried a back-breaking

load of hard, tedious, day-by-day and state-by-state campaigning. And in doing so you have been undismayed by the problems of time, distance and physical efforts. . . . I can find no words to express my deep appreciation of the contribution you have made."

XV.

THE RESULTS

"I believe this Eisenhower Administration has given America the best government that it has had in my lifetime."

JUST as he led the march on the opposition, Vice President Nixon took the lead in heralding the accomplishments of the Eisenhower Administration. On April 25, 1953, he made the first major report on the course of the new Republican regime. In its first hundred days, he said, the Administration had brought in good men, established a new moral climate, cut expenditures, removed controls, launched a new security program, set a new course toward freedom. One major problem, he reported, was that Civil Service made it difficult for the new team to get new policies moving.

"Government today is a system of wheels within wheels wherein the small and obscure wheels must grind out in great part the vast bulk of decisions and policies for which the major and known wheels are ultimately responsible," he said.

"There is a group of policy-making employees in the government who hold Civil Service positions. This group includes professional employees, such as lawyers, economists, informa-

tion specialists, writers, personnel experts, public-relations people, and political and social-science analysts. They are the ones the new appointees will have to depend upon to a great extent for advice and assistance in the performance of the innumerable duties of their offices. I believe President Eisenhower's appointees should have the right to select the men and women who hold these positions. Yet, every time one of these individuals is asked to resign an anguished wail goes up to the effect that the Civil Service system is being torpedoed.

"The Civil Service system, which was put into effect by a Republican Administration, serves a good and useful purpose. But it should not be used to protect the inefficient nor to thwart the will of the people as expressed in a national election. President Eisenhower and his top appointees are entitled to have advisers of their own choosing in their departments, and I am confident the American people will support our efforts to give them just that."

This was only the first of the Vice President's continuing reviews of the Administration's progress. By the fall of 1954, he was reporting a basic change in the Federal Government's course. In Chicago on October 20, 1954, he said:

"The dead hand of socialism which held back the normal economic growth of the nation for twenty years under Democrat Administrations has been lifted. Instead of the policy of harassment, controls, regulations and inflation, the Republican Administration has created a climate for prosperity without war. The working man can look forward to building a home, raising and educating his children and living a complete life without the specter of uncertainty, inflation and insecurity.

"The businessman is encouraged to plan boldly, to create new products, new markets and new jobs without the threat of being sandbagged by a hostile government."

At Denver on November 1, 1954, on the eve of the Congressional elections, he covered the whole range of the Eisenhower program:

"What is the main thing that every American wants from his government? What is the major responsibility that a government has? Ask any mother with sons of draft age. She will tell you 'Keep the peace.'

"Certainly nothing is more important than that, and I think that all of us realize that the hydrogen bomb can obliterate a city, that there is nothing more important than to develop policies which will keep the peace and keep it without surrender, because we can find solutions to all of our other problems.

"We can have the best social security program or unemployment compensation or what-have-you, and that isn't going to do us any good unless we are around to enjoy them.

"So, on this issue of whether or not the Administration is best qualified to keep the peace, let us test the Eisenhower leadership and the Eisenhower policy. . . .

"Well, I say there is a great, dramatic achievement, which is summed up in a single sentence: The war in Korea is over, and for the first time in fifteen years the world is at peace.

"But there are other achievements, too. We found when we came to Washington in January, 1953, that there were other hot spots in the world, in Suez and Iran and Trieste and Indochina and Guatemala—any one of which might have flamed into war. But as a result of the diplomacy which we have had and the leadership which we have had, those hot spots have been cooled off and no war has resulted.

"In addition to that, may I say that people often ask the question, what is the policy that this Administration has? Why has it succeeded?

"My answer is this: First of all, it is based on keeping America strong at home militarily, with just as many strong allies as we can get abroad. May I say today you can be confident that the United States and its allies are stronger than they have been at any time since World War II. They are strong enough to resist the threat of Communist aggression any place in the world.

"Secondly, we recognize that our policy must be firm diplomatically. It can't be weak. It can't be inconsistent in dealing with the international gangsters in Moscow and Peking.

"Under Secretary of State Dulles and President Eisenhower we have this firm diplomacy . . . but, third, may I tell you also that there is another ingredient of success for foreign policy if you are going to keep the peace. It may be most important of all. Now, what is it? Just this—leaders who are cool in a crisis.

"Let me tell you something. I sit in the high councils of this Administration. There have been occasions during the past twenty months when men who were unwise, men who were impulsive, might have plunged the United States into war. But because in the President, in the Secretary of State, we have men of judgment and background, the United States has not only been gotten out of one war—we have been kept out of others. . . .

"Now, what else do the American people want from their government besides peace?

"Well, putting it very simply, they want prosperity, but getting right down to brass tacks, they want a kind of policy that will allow them to meet the bills at the end of the month—good jobs, good pay, security for old age, progress for the future.

"How does the Administration measure up on this issue? . . . We cut spending, we cut taxes, we took the controls off the economy, we checked inflation.

"What's the result? This is the best peacetime year in America's history. Employment is higher, unemployment is lower than in any peacetime year in the last quarter of a century. Wages and take-home pay are higher than they have been in any peacetime year in America's history. But, most important of all, look what has happened to jobs. Since January of this year there have been 2,300,000 new jobs created in America. That's why unemployment has gone down. That is why employment has gone up.

"Now, what kind of jobs are these? They are permanent, peacetime, wealth-creating jobs rather than temporary, wartime, wealth-destroying jobs.

"How did that come about? Because the people who create jobs, who invest in businesses, who expand old businesses or invest in new businesses had confidence in this Administration. . . .

"This Administration is not satisfied with things as they are. We believe in being progressive. That is why we have the greatest highway program on the books, coming for the future, that America has ever seen: fifty billion dollars in ten years. Think what that will do for the expansion of America.

"That is why we are developing America's water and power resources—but on a partnership basis with the state and local communities rather than the Federal Government, every time it helps out a local or state community, proceeding on the theory that then it gets the right to set up a Federal colony run by bureaucrats from Washington, D.C. . . .

"What else do we want? . . . We want our government to be liberal and humanitarian, and we are proud of the fact that this government of ours *is* liberal and humanitarian. We have expanded social security; we have expanded unemployment insurance. We have programs in the field of health and education and welfare.

"What is the difference between our programs and those of our predecessors? A very simple one: We think it is possible to be liberal and humanitarian without being socialistic.

"What else do we want? We want government which provides opportunity for our children, opportunity for our children regardless of their background, their race or their creed or their color, and we may say we are particularly proud tonight that this Administration has done so much to end discrimination in employment in America. If we can continue our policies, policies which we feel are based not on demagoguery, not on compulsion, but on persuasion, upon education, these policies will make the American dream come true, the dream of equal opportunity for all regardless of race or creed or color.

"We want an Administration which is honest, and may I say in that connection that you can be sure that this Administration is honest, and it will remain honest just as long as President Eisenhower is President of the United States.

"Finally, we want our government to be loyal. Why is this important? Not because there is any danger that the Communists are going to overthrow this government in your time or in the time to come, but because the major enemy of the United States is the international Communist conspiracy which has its tentacles all over the world and here in the United States. Therefore, you must deal with this conspiracy and may I say that we have dealt with it, we have dealt with it sanely and effectively. . . .

"What have we done? Well, we have enforced the laws on the books; we have removed the security risks; we have gotten new laws, new laws which make the penalty for treachery fit the crime in America. . . . You may remember that the President in his State of the Union message asked the Congress to pass a bill that would take away the citizenship of anyone who

would participate in a conspiracy to overthrow the government by force and violence. That bill is now law. It is a good law. . . .

"This government, this Administration, isn't perfect. We have made mistakes and we will make some in the future. But I believe this Eisenhower Administration has given America the best government that it has had in my lifetime, and I believe if you study it as I have, you will agree.

"I am often asked what kind of man this President of ours is. I have gotten to know him very well over the past twenty-two months. I have seen him make very great decisions for America. As he made those decisions I have watched him and I know if you had watched him you would have even greater confidence than you presently have in the President of the United States.

"No man could be more dedicated, no man could work harder, no man could believe more deeply in America than he does. . . . I am proud to be on his team. . . . Every American can be proud of the fact that he can hold the President of the United States up to his children as a man who has faith in God, faith in America, and who has restored real dignity and respect to the highest office in this land."

In New York City on October 19, 1955, discussing the Administration's economic policies, the Vice President brought the record up to date:

"May I emphasize at the outset that while these policies have been put into effect by a Republican Administration they are not partisan in character. The conservative economic philosophy of the Eisenhower Administration is supported by millions of Democrats as well as Republicans. . . . The question we had to answer was, should we continue the program of our predecessors or should we turn to more conservative policies? This was a grave question in principle, and it was a difficult question politically. Whether we like it or not, we must recognize that

the faith of millions of Americans in conservative economic policies had been terribly shaken by the great depression of the Thirties.

"They believed that conservative policies had caused the Depression. They were convinced that those policies could not cure it. And they feared that a return to such policies might bring on another depression.

"The problem was debated in the Cabinet. Finally a decision was made. In essence, here is what it was. We decided to give the free American economic system a chance to work. And we based that decision on our faith that conservative policies were right in principle and that if they were right in principle they would in the end prove right politically. . . .

"We adopted fiscal policies designed to encourage the initiative, the dynamism, and the ingenuity of the American people.

"Looking back, I will have to admit that we had some uneasy moments. When the economy was in a period of adjustment after the end of the Korean War there was strong pressure from some quarters to return to the policies of the past.

"But today we see that our faith has been vindicated.

"Gross national product stands at 392 billion.

"Personal income is at 306 billion.

"Personal disposable income is at 272 billion.

"New construction is at 41.8 billion.

"Each one of these figures is a new all-time record. I could cite more of the same type but perhaps a more striking proof of the success of our program was contained in a recent bulletin of the C.I.O. Though critical of the Administration's economic policies in some respects, the bulletin refers to the 'era of unparalleled prosperity' we are enjoying in the United States. . . .

"American wage earners today have more jobs at higher wages, with greater purchasing power and less strikes, than at any time in history, and they have peace. . . .

"In summary, the Eisenhower philosophy is that you can be progressive and humanitarian without being socialistic. And we believe that kind of approach has the approval of the great majority of the American people. . . .

"The American people are not going to stand still. We believe that our programs, designed in the very best American traditions, will keep America on the road to progress. We oppose the programs of our predecessors, not because they were too high, but because they were too low. Our aim is a gross national product of 500 billion dollars by 1965. If we attain that goal, the resources will be available to build the roads, schools, houses, and to meet the other great social needs of the American people. . . . As long as we are not panicked into doing things wrong, as long as we avoid the panaceas—the economic pep-pills with the awful let-down, and as long as we remain true to the economic principles which have made America great, we can face the future with courage and confidence."

XVI.

THE PROSPECT

THIS IS NIXON. He is the product of plain, sturdy, devout, industrious, pioneering Quaker stock. He was endowed with an exceptionally good mind. His childhood was by no means a game; his youth was in no sense a lark. They were not easy. He grew up in and out of the kind of background, circumstances and times that produce sober men. He is an intense, serious, earnest, industrious, ambitious, able man.

In his ten years of public life, he has absorbed and analyzed and discussed publicly an astonishing range of important issues. At times his intensity has caused him to overstate his case. But he has overstated it far less than his foes have overstated their case against him. At times his passion for simplicity of expression has caused him to oversimplify. But in an age of growing complexities, the simplifiers who recognize complexity and reduce it to simple terms may well serve their era better than the complicators.

Some men fear him. Those who do are, in considerable part, people who believe that his patriotism and his ambition are too intense, or who misunderstand him. Some men cannot stomach him. They are largely represented and affected by certain men

of letters who regard themselves as the defenders of intellectualism, and who look upon Nixon as too plain, too blunt and too slick. Some men oppose him simply because they disagree with his philosophy, or with his politics.

But there is substantial evidence that a great mass of the American people, knowing where Richard Nixon came from and what he stands for and where he stands, would understand him and stand with him. He represents a generation of Americans, now coming into their own, who grew out of the same times and much the same circumstances as he did. He has a passionate faith in, and indeed he represents, the doctrine of individual freedom and opportunity, under the law. Despite the attacks that have been made on it, that faith is still imbedded in the American character.

On Inauguration Day, 1957, Richard Nixon will be forty-four, younger than any President in United States history except Theodore Roosevelt. Given average life expectancy, he will be on the American scene for at least another quarter of a century. That expectancy adds up to no less than six Presidential elections. Considering how far he has come and how much he has done in just one decade of public life, that is indeed a prospect to appall his foes and hearten his friends.

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